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Father Theodore M. Hesburgh and the University of Notre Dame's Change in Governance to a Predominantly Lay Board of Trustees

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FATHER THEODORE M. HESBURGH AND THE UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE
DAME'S CHANGE IN GOVERNANCE TO A PREDOMINANTLY LAY BOARD OF
TRUSTEES

BY
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Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the requirements for the Degree
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SETON HALL UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF EDUCATION AND HUMAN SERVICES
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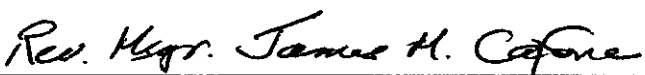
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ABSTRACT

FATHER THEODORE M. HESBURGH AND THE UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME'S CHANGE IN GOVERNANCE TO A PREDOMINANTLY LAY BOARD OF TRUSTEES

Father Theodore M. Hesburgh served as president of the University of Notre Dame from 1952-1987 and is recognized as one of the most successful university presidents in history. He was very involved in both matters pertaining to the university and those affecting the larger world. One of his most important achievements during his tenure was turning the University over to lay control. In this study an attempt was made to understand how Hesburgh evaluated the need for the governing structure of the University of Notre Dame to be changed from a clerical Board to a predominantly lay Board of Trustees.

Not only are the pragmatic pressures and stresses of the time that influenced the decision of interest, but factors related to Hesburgh's personal philosophical viewpoints that had developed over a longer period of time as well as what he envisioned for Notre Dame's future are also targets for analysis. The method involves analyses of three selected works of Hesburgh as well as several interviews with close observers of Father Hesburgh and the transition process. The findings support that Hesburgh's philosophical ideas, concern for pragmatic pressures, and his vision for the future of the University of Notre Dame all impacted his evaluation in deciding to shift the governing board of the University to a predominantly lay Board of Trustees. In particular, this study highlights how Hesburgh's personal philosophy regarding the idea of change and the role of the laity contributed to the decision. The dynamics that surround this transition mesh well

with Baldrige's conclusions regarding university change (1971), leading to an analysis of power loss and power gain among Hesburgh and other stakeholders, supplemented by a consideration of how well this change in governance fits the literature on “radical change.”

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my favorite partner in learning since English 109, my husband, Brendan Browne.

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My husband and children. Their love fueled my determination.

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Chapter I

THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

Introduction

When Father Theodore Hesburgh was assigned in the 1940s to begin work at the University of Notre Dame, the University sorely needed his help. At the time, Notre Dame lacked academic distinction, and the football team overshadowed any other focus. One historian noted that the cost of the football uniforms was about the same amount as was budgeted for library book acquisitions (O'Brien, 1998). Theodore Hesburgh had attended Notre Dame for seminary school, and he went on to become a theologian and Holy Cross priest, classically trained in logic, metaphysics, cosmology, and epistemology at the Gregorian University in Rome, finally receiving his doctorate of sacred theology from the Catholic University of America. The way he completed his dissertation says a lot about his self-discipline: he worked for 17 hours a day for 5 months straight, taking only 3 hours off on Christmas afternoon (Hesburgh, 1990). He communicated in five different languages, and he was well respected for his intellectual curiosity and analytical skills. On a campus that was teeming with football-crazed young men known to behave much like animals in the mere presence of a female, Hesburgh, who had willingly taken his religious vows and had never wavered in his childhood desire to be a priest, must have felt exceedingly challenged.

Hesburgh met the challenge of teaching at and presiding over the University of Notre Dame with unprecedented results. He served as president for 35 years (from 1952-1987), longer than any other active president's tenure at the time he stepped down. In that time, the operating budget went from \$9.7 million to \$176.6 million, the endowment

from \$9 million to \$350 million, research funding from \$735,000 to \$15 million, and enrollment increased from 4,979 to 9,600, with faculty nearly tripling, and degrees awarded more than doubling (www.nd.edu, 2008).

Beyond the campus of the University of Notre Dame, Hesburgh also kept very busy on a wide range of projects. He served as chairman of the Commission on Civil Rights under President Nixon, and he played an integral role in passing progressive equal rights legislation. In the 1960s, he put together an early Peace Corps project, a plan for voluntary service by American youth in countries overseas, in collaboration with President Kennedy and his aides. He was recruited by Eisenhower to serve on the National Science Board, and he was a delegate to the International Atomic Energy Agency in the 1970s. The Guinness Book of World Records recognizes him as having the most honorary degrees (150 at last count) of any person in history.

As Hesburgh accomplished so much during his time as President it is difficult to pinpoint a focus for a biographical dissertation, to decide what may be the most interesting angle or most meaningful contribution. In reviewing biographies of other college presidents there seems to be no prevailing pattern: some people focus on a particular year to study in a president's tenure, others look for themes. In the case of Hesburgh, his autobiography provides a chance to hear directly from him about what he considered of paramount importance: "...I would have to say that of all the accomplishments during the thirty-five years of my presidency of Notre Dame...the greatest change made during my administration was turning the university over to lay control" (Hesburgh, 1990, p. 178).

Such a direct appraisal of one's own tenure warrants further investigation. The University of Notre Dame was founded by Father Edward Sorin, a Holy Cross priest, in 1842. Since receiving its charter in 1844, Notre Dame had been governed by a six-man Board of Trustees made up of Holy Cross priests (O'Brien, 1998). Clerics were an integral part of Notre Dame serving as professors, administrators, and Board members. It was during Father Hesburgh's tenure, in 1967, that the power of the Board was shifted from clerical control to predominantly lay control. At the time, a lot of Catholic colleges and universities were grappling with the dilemma of how to govern their institutions, and Father Hesburgh's decision was very controversial. Although some colleges followed Hesburgh's lead in shifting power to a predominantly lay Board, others chose to retain an entirely clerical Board or maintain a model where clergy members held the most power. Hesburgh laid the decision out in the "Land O'Lakes Statement: The Nature of the Contemporary Catholic University" (1967) after hosting a retreat in Wisconsin in July of 1967 at which executives of the major Catholic institutions in the United States and their sponsoring religious orders met and then signed the document. Dolan (1992) describes it as being "a key statement on behalf of academic freedom and the value of the Catholic university"(p. 444) .

Even today, some people still disagree with Hesburgh's position in removing power from the clerics and handing it over to the laity. Some even go so far as to call it heresy in secularizing Catholic institutions (McIntire, 2008). Others offer a more balanced analysis. Authors such as Greeley (1967), Gleason (1995), and Gallin (1996) take a look at the controversy surrounding Catholic colleges that made the shift, and Greeley suggests that such a move demonstrates that the traditional approach to the

relationship between religious orders and colleges was being abandoned in favor of a more functional approach (Greeley, 1967).

Whether in favor of the decision or not, it can be agreed that the decision was not made lightly. Being a Holy Cross priest himself, Hesburgh must have felt torn in a few different directions. Since Hesburgh was a president and Holy Cross priest with a reputation for possessing keen analytical skills, the thought process involved in deciding what to do about the make up of the Board of Trustees is an intriguing focus of study.

Research Question

The main research question is: How did Father Theodore Hesburgh evaluate the need for the governing structure of the University of Notre Dame to be changed from a clerical Board to a predominantly lay Board of Trustees?

Not only are the pragmatic pressures and stresses of the time that influenced the decision of interest, but factors related to Hesburgh's personal philosophical viewpoints that had developed over a longer period of time as well as what he envisioned for Notre Dame's future are also targets for analysis. So three subsidiary questions that address the influence of the past, present, and future are:

Subsidiary Questions

1. What underlying philosophical/ideological perspectives weighed in his decision to pursue the establishment of a predominantly lay board of trustees?
2. What were the pragmatic pressures and considerations he was grappling with at the time?

3. What consequences did he anticipate for the future of Notre Dame and its members?

By conducting interviews, doing an in depth analysis of selected writings and speeches of Hesburgh, and examining the literature related to my findings, I sought to have these questions answered.

Chapter II

REVIEW OF RELEVANT RESEARCH AND THEORY

Three avenues of literature were explored: biographical works on college presidents, literature involving radical change theory and political models, and literature related to Hesburgh and the lay board. ProQuest and WorldCat databases were searched for dissertations, and ProQuest, JSTOR, and Google Scholar were searched for journal articles and books. Biographical pieces on college presidents were read in order to develop a sense of the style of biographies, and to see how past college presidents had been depicted. Literature related to radical change provided an understanding of the common applications of the theory, and dissertations implementing political models and theory were reviewed in order to see how they have been woven into past dissertations. Finally, literature on Hesburgh and the lay Board was investigated to develop an understanding of the landscape of Catholic higher education at the period in time that the transfer of power occurred, to learn what angles of the topic have been explored in the past, and where there might be room for growth.

Literature Related to Biographies of College Presidents

A search of the abovementioned databases yielded evidence that most biographical pieces on college presidents come in the form of dissertations and books. The first step in the undertaking of the literature review was to see if anyone had written a dissertation about Hesburgh and the lay Board in the past. Three dissertations with Hesburgh as the subject were retrieved. Two dissertations were rhetorical analyses of

Hesburgh's speeches: one concerning speeches on higher education (Karam, 1979) and the second dissertation titled, "A rhetorical analysis of Theodore Hesburgh's fund-raising speeches for the University of Notre Dame" (Ncube, 2002). This thesis examines Hesburgh's success as a fundraiser, and it used a rhetorical design to examine the speeches directed to alumni Hesburgh employed to positively affect alumni giving. Ncube found that Hesburgh's rhetoric emphasizes serving the common good, highlights values, and focuses on the positive aspects of the university. It will be worthwhile to discover if he might have had similar emphases in making the case for the transition to the predominantly lay Board.

The third dissertation on Hesburgh was written by Turecky in 2007 and titled "A portrait of Leadership, Reverend Theodore M. Hesburgh." Turecky used a qualitative retrospective analysis to look at three selected writings by and about Hesburgh, using three different leadership instruments for the analysis. He found that Hesburgh adjusted his style to fit the requirements of a situation, framed the institutional vision and understanding by campus members, was heavily influenced by the context and climate of higher education, and used reflection for growth. This thesis has a very interesting focus, was very well organized and written, but the method of relying exclusively on documents to analyze leadership style has obvious limitations.

In addition to seeing what theses had been written on Hesburgh and how, there is a lot to learn from scholarly works that have been written on other college presidents who had reputations for great accomplishments during their tenure. Of particular interest would be university or college presidents who served during the mid to late twentieth century, as Hesburgh did. A consultation with university professors and research of

university presidents' biographies led to the development of such a list and included: Clark Kerr, Derek Bok, Robert Hutchins, Hanna Gray, and James Killian. For Clark Kerr, there were a few dissertations written in the 1970's or 1980. One looked at his rhetoric as an academic president (Elsea, 1972) and another is titled "Clark Kerr: Biography of an action intellectual" (Stuart, 1980). This dissertation was of particular interest because it is cited repeatedly in related literature. It is an exhaustive look at his public life, and in many ways, his character is comparable to Hesburgh's: driven by values, very hard-working, skillful in the face of conflict, and exceedingly self-disciplined. There is also a dissertation (Jarech, 1978) that focused on both Robert Hutchins and Clark Kerr and their contrasting views of the uses of the university. This dissertation was tremendously skillful in detailing the presidents' educational philosophies and exploring the theory and experiences from which they are derived.

In a similar manner, Martin (1991) compared and contrasted philosopher John Dewey and Robert Hutchins' perspectives on general education. Martin details how their viewpoints were affected by the historical circumstances in which they were formed, leading Hutchins to appear as authoritarian. With a great deal of insight, Martin broadens the lens on Hutchins and supports a view of him that is more complex, involving evidence of him acting as a democratic humanist open to intellectual diversity. As Hesburgh is also a university president who is known for writing and speaking on topics related to education, it will be interesting to see if there is interplay between his philosophy of education and the decision concerning the move to the predominantly lay Board.

Hutchins was also the focus of attention in McArthur's (1990) biographical article that looks at Hutchins' youth as a "gamble" in the university president selection process. The article describes how political tension between faculty members and trustees dominated the selection process, where Hutchins' name was dismissed multiple times. It makes clear that the choice of the winning candidate is never scientific, but a combination of politics, outside pressure, logic, gossip, and ultimately faith in the person selected. Like any good underdog story, Hutchins prevails in the end and, although he came to the university with general notions rather than grand ideas of what he wanted to accomplish, he transformed the university in ways more dramatic than anyone could have anticipated. Like Hesburgh, Hutchins is credited with cultivating the intellectualism in the college to such a point that it would "become in time a point of perverse pride among students" (p. 185).

Unfortunately, searches of dissertations concerning the other aforementioned college presidents did not yield any relevant results.

After investigating what had been written about other well-accomplished college presidents, and not yielding results as fruitful as had been hoped, a more general search of college president-related dissertations was done to build on the knowledge of how biographical works on college presidents are written and organized. As before, the focus was on presidents who served around the same time in history as Hesburgh. The overwhelming majority of doctoral dissertations focus on leadership. Often, the author applies a theory or a few theories of leadership after having collected qualitative data of the president's leadership style, and then evaluates how the president falls in line or out of line with theory (Blankenbaker, 2006; Ruff, 2000; Susick, 2007).

Sometimes a particular niche of presidential leadership has been examined, such as female presidents (Klein, 1985; Rhoades, 2007), black presidents (Evans-Herring, 2003; Rovaris, 1990), or presidents associated with various religious groups (Newman, 2007; Rogers, 2008; Waters; 1988). Of particular interest was a dissertation concerning female presidents of American research universities by Welch (2002). Welch investigated leadership by exploring Bolman and Deal's leadership frame theory. Many other dissertations had applied leadership theory taken from the social sciences. Since Bolman and Deal are authors whose work is well known in the realm of higher education, I considered that theory within the higher education realm might have something to offer in investigating Hesburgh and the lay Board.

The concept of presidential leadership is also explored in Padilla's (2005) book profiling six "extraordinary" university presidents. He presents case studies of Clark Kerr, William Friday, Hesburgh, John Slaughter, William Bowen, and Anna Gray, looking closely at their personal characteristics, their commonalities and differences. He also reveals personal shortcomings, sharing that Hesburgh was sometimes viewed as autocratic. Perhaps this criticism of Hesburgh will also rear its head as his role in transitioning to the lay board is analyzed.

There are also a number of dissertations related to a president's beginning at a college or university. These were an interesting combination of meshing a period of time with a theme. One was done as an ethnography of a president's first year (Miller, 1992) and the author sought to understand the everyday experiences of a first year college president. She used methods the other dissertations had not explored such as observing the president and analyzing his calendar and memos. It was useful to learn about

naturalistic qualitative methods and to see how an author attempted to study a living university president. Another analysis of a president's first year was "Establishing legitimacy: An analysis of a college president's first year at the helm" (Ploussiou, 2005), and, instead of concerning a current president, it looked back on a president's first year through a similar sort of qualitative analysis, and then it framed the findings in theory. It was interesting to note that some biographical dissertations use theory as a starting point, to create a sort of rationale for why they have chosen a particular angle to examine, and some use it more as an ending point, to make sense of the discoveries they have made. It seems ideal to have theory not appear abruptly at the beginning or end, but to have it as a tool for analysis at both ends and even within the dissertation, as it may apply.

A few additional lessons were learned in reading these dissertations. First of all, sometimes dissertations become cumbersome when too many theories are applied and too many conclusions drawn. A good example of an author handling multiple theories and multiple methods is Blankenbaker (2006) who looked at Jan LeCroy, a community college leader. Another lesson learned was that all data gathered on a president might not always fit perfectly into any particular theoretical perspective. Newman (2007) did well in illustrating this point. Finally, several dissertations retrieved had a clear agenda of dispelling misunderstandings about a particular president or making up for a deficit in the literature. These dissertations were read with unease as they felt more like a tribute or payment of homage than an objective critical analysis. Waters (1988) achieved a balance between paying attention to the vast achievements of a president and also recognizing his deficits.

Finally, a couple of works took a look at college presidents who fall outside of all the aforementioned molds, but who had interesting stories and made important contributions to the field. Strother and Wallenstein (2004) researched how Marshall Hahn transformed Virginia Polytechnic Institute between 1962-1974. They discuss all the obstacles he overcame in developing the curriculum, satisfying faculties' salaries and working conditions, growing research, and building quality departments. Like the controversy of Hesburgh favoring the end of the clerical board, Hahn engaged in a bitter struggle when he disestablished the corps of cadets (male students had been required to enroll for 2 years) and alienated the alumni for years but set his eyes on broadening the student population.

Stapleton and Stapleton (2004) took a look at Courtney Smith who served as president at Swarthmore from 1952 to 1969. They acknowledge his accomplishments like preserving the liberal arts and increasing faculty welfare, but they also critique his inability to deal with a wide range of people and issues, appearing arrogant and iconoclastic, especially during the years of student unrest. Having died at his desk at age 53 in the midst of this tension, Smith stands as a lesson in the need to weigh personal characteristics into the mix of qualities for a successful college president.

As a good summary piece, Crowley (1994) interprets the university presidency, and he takes a look at how the office has changed and adapted over time. He tackles all different angles, such as exploring metaphors of the presidency, portrayals of presidents in fiction, and also profiles more than a dozen well-known and not as well-known presidents. Whereas the Stapleton and Stapleton book hones in on Smith's lack of skills in confronting student unrest, Crowley's book has been criticized for lacking coverage on

how student disruptions and violence wracked campuses, and tested college presidents (Kauffman, 1995).

Literature Related to Organizational Radical Change and Political Models

Not only is there no research related to theories behind education board restructuring, there is minimal scholarship on the topic of governance (Kezar, 2005). Education scholars agree that the days of endorsing sociologist Emile Durkheim's view of education as a collection of practices and institutions that are almost entirely resistant to change are over (Gumport, 2007), yet there is a lack of consensus and understanding as to how higher educational governing structures change and should change. For example, Bess and Dee (2008) explain that organizational leaders should skillfully craft an institutional vision based on a bottom-up focus, in which an educational leader acts as more of a facilitator of ideas than one who persuades others to "buy in" to any particular agenda for change. On the other hand, Eckel and Kezar (2003) promote the idea of institutional leaders more actively "tak[ing] the reins of change" (pg. xi). An interesting pocket of governance literature has been termed "radical change." In this literature there are links with Hesburgh's restructuring of the Board of Trustees. Radical change is defined by Greenwood and Hinings (1996) as breaking loose from an existing orientation and the entire transformation of organizing principles and structures. Nadler (1998) adds that it is a dramatic change in the way things are organized, often characterized by a one-time or discontinuous alteration. Transitioning a formerly all clerical Board to a predominantly lay Board seems to meet these criteria.

Much of the literature on radical change pertains to corporate culture and governance. For example, Brown and Eisenhardt (1997) examined six firms in the computer industry and concluded that many firms compete by changing continuously. On the surface it appears as though periods of stability are punctuated by bursts of radical change, but if one takes a step backward, a pattern of continuous change and adaptation over time is apparent, and in fact, the authors believe that this is the endemic way competitive industries do well. They cite examples in the retail and product industry as well as the airline industry and then shift the focus to the computer industry. Several other authors also emphasize how radical change must be tempered with less radical adaptive adjustments. Kraemmerand, Moller, and Boer (2003) say it is best to use a blend of incremental change with radical strategy changes when the data support it. McNulty and Holloway (2004) reveal limits to intended organizational transformation in hospitals, when radical change is implemented. Miner (1994) focuses on managers' roles in implementing radical change, saying the manager must know when to seek adaptive versus radical change and steer their employees in the favorable direction. Though this literature is outside of the realm of higher education, it raises some interesting thoughts to pursue in this dissertation. Did Hesburgh see the move to the predominantly lay board as a radical change in governance or a logical next step in continuously adapting to the changing environment? Also, how did Notre Dame fill the role of functioning like a competitive industry with Hesburgh serving as a manager?

There are two main theoretical perspectives that suggest radical change occurs within organizations and is the way to alter structures and processes that shape attitudes and behavior: teleological/business process reengineering and political theories (Kezar,

2005). The business process reengineering perspective views radical change as positive and a necessary approach for challenging the status quo. Birnbaum (2000) says it involves fundamental rethinking and redesign of business processes to improve measures of performance like quality, cost, and so forth. Change is brought about because leaders and other change agents feel that it is necessary, and the process for change is rational and linear, using thinking that involves seeing the problem in context and not in isolation (systems thinking). The major outcomes of business process reengineering are efficiency and effectiveness (Burke & Peppard, 1995).

Different from business process reengineering, which sees radical change as common and necessary for a successful organization, political models see radical change as rare. It arises when there is an impasse between two perspectives or ideologies (Baldridge, 1971), and so a short period of revolutionary change erupts. This model has been used to conceptualize other shifts in governance such as the creation of faculty senates and including students to serve on governing boards (Lucas, 1994). In this model, there are three main consequences of radical change: a new ideology develops, a particular group's interests are better served, and power relationships change (Morgan, 1986).

Since the political model has some precedent in being utilized in educational governance, it is this theoretical perspective that is considered in researching Hesburgh and the transition to the predominantly lay Board.

As Baldridge's (1971) political model is the theoretical perspective through which findings on Hesburgh and the move to the predominantly lay Board are analyzed, it is

useful to know how theory of Baldrige's political models have been used in past dissertations. A conceptual model termed Baldrige's political model of policy formulation has been utilized by a number of researchers to evaluate program additions or policy decisions in an educational setting. McCarthy (2005), Coleman (1995) and Bailiff (1991) all used the model to evaluate racial diversity programs and policies introduced at higher education institutions. Each author described in depth the stages of Baldrige's model and then described how the happenings at their own institution compared and contrasted with what Baldrige set forth. Bailiff took an extra step and proposed a variation on Baldrige's model that better fit the steps taken and decisions made at the institution she examined.

Two other authors, Walker (2003) and Erskine (1989) used the same model to evaluate aspects of the functioning of an entire institution. Walker took a broad look at how political processes have shaped higher education in South Africa, and then used the model to focus in on how policy has been formulated, goals have been set, and decisions have been made at the University of the North. Erskine used the model in examining how the dynamics of a business college that focuses on career preparation measure up against the model. In his review of the literature, he noted that criticism has been directed at Baldrige especially by those who favor a more collegial view of the university. But in his analysis, Erskine asserted that the political model stood up very well, especially in light of the conflicts his thesis noted and the subsequent dismissal of three senior administrators during the course of his research.

Not all dissertations including political models evaluate policy decisions following Baldrige's model of policy formulation. Milone-Nuzzo (1989) studied

interpersonal conflict among faculty members in a department of nursing, and she looked to what Baldrige had to say about goals and values, interest groups, and participation in decision-making to explain the dynamics of the department under study. Wilson (1987) did a case study of the desegregation of a particular higher education institution. While the majority of his analysis details desegregation activities at Kentucky State University over the course of 5 years, he also examines social structure and interest groups using Baldrige's (1971) theory involving power and conflict as a model. Similarly, Pusser (2003) did a case study analyzing the contest over affirmative action at the University of California utilizing Baldrige's interest articulation framework. Like this study, Pusser sought to understand the political dynamics of postsecondary governance and decision making.

Dissertations by Holt (1997) and Hicks (1992) investigated how policy affects leadership. Holt focused on how academic administrators are confronted with strains and pressures from the outside world, such as accrediting agencies, licensing boards, and professional associations. She examines how external interest groups are able to exert pressure as curriculum is being decided. Hicks highlighted the complexity of developing policy within educational organizations. She found that the chancellor/president plays a critical role in advising, assisting, and recommending policy. Whereas Holt tends to stress that educational leaders may be stripped of power as policy is being decided, Hicks emphasizes that leaders are in a unique position to affect change.

There is no evidence of the political model having been used in past dissertations to frame a governance change as sweeping as the move from a clerical to lay board. On the other hand, the political model has clearly been used as a tool for analysis in

circumstances of significant educational impact, such as policy and programmatic change, to make its implementation in this dissertation a logical choice

Literature Related to Hesburgh and the Lay Board

Before addressing the specific topic of Hesburgh's pursuing the lay board, it is necessary first to describe the context of Catholic higher education and the forces at work when this decision was made. Several authors have focused on the years around World War II as the critical period during which the tides changed in Catholic higher education, favoring a move away from Church control (Gleason, 1995; Heft, 1999; Hunt & Carper, 1995). Gleason (1995) explains that Catholic participation in the organization of federally sponsored research and involvement with secular agencies during World War II "reinforced the assimilative tendencies that had long been at work in their adjustment to prevailing norms in educational practice and in other more subtle ways" (p. 215). Hunt and Carper (1995) state that immediately following the War, as the GI Bill paved the way for more veterans to partake in higher education, more Catholics had access to and enrolled in college. The Catholic laity was on its way toward being better educated than the clergy in many secular fields. Even more pragmatic and pressing were financial concerns at the time, as these institutions needed money they didn't have in the form of endowments and government subsidies (Geiger, 2003; Hunt & Carper, 1995). Few would argue that the lay people had better skills in fundraising than the clergy, and that running an institution as complex as a university or college was daunting to even the most competent clergy members.

Fortunately, there was fraternity among the top Catholic leaders in higher education as these dilemmas presented themselves. In 1949, Pope Pius XII called together the heads of worldwide "pontifical" institutions of higher education, and they joined to form an association that would later be called the International Federation of Catholic Universities. Not long after the Second Vatican Council, the association, under the leadership of Hesburgh and with the support of Pope Paul VI, was broadened to include institutions that had been founded by religious congregations (Heft, 1999). Gallin (1996) describes this period as having unusually strong leadership among the presidents of many Catholic colleges and universities. In the years that followed, these leaders relied on one another to navigate even more choppy waters.

In the 1960's, several court cases, studies and one very important document made the independence of Catholic higher education institutions extremely relevant. The *Horace Mann League v. Board of Public Works* (1966) and *Tilton v. Richardson* (1971) cases proved that colleges' boards could be evaluated as being too sectarian and therefore ineligible for federal loan and grants. The Perkins study (1966) provided data that suggested Catholic colleges were a subgroup with a form of government distinct from most other private institutions and intimately connected to religious communities (Gallin, 1996). This was all bad news for Catholic higher education institutions that were struggling for financial survival. The documents of Vatican II provided ecclesial encouragement toward increasing the role and responsibility of the laity in Church institutions, causing the leaders of Catholic higher education institutions to conclude that more lay involvement in the running of the university is desirable from a number of angles.

In addition to these concrete threats and stressors, Gleason (1995) also describes a less tangible influence that likely affected the movement toward the lay board. He explains that, in the early 1960s, freedom became the central theme of American higher education, inspired in large part by Martin Luther King Jr. and John F. Kennedy. This theme was reinforced when four progressive theologians were banned from speaking at the Catholic University of America in 1963. Freedom was more fine-tuned to specify academic freedom in 1965 when St. John's University abruptly fired 31 professors, both lay people and clergy members, completely refusing them any sort of academic due process. Gleason (1995) asserts that what happened at St. John's "was sufficient to rivet the attention of Catholic educators on academic freedom, but it also seemed to act as a spark setting off academic freedom brushfires across the landscape of Catholic higher education..." (p. 308). In many ways, the timing was exactly right for a higher education leader like Hesburgh to advocate for the board change.

Hesburgh's turning the Board of Trustees over to lay control has been written about many times. Almost all the time, the topic is mentioned in a review of Hesburgh's achievements and given one or two sentences of space. Often it is said that it was a bold move on Hesburgh's part that historically redefined Catholic higher education (Ames, 1989; Bowen, 1987; Garvey, 2007; Woodward, 2008). Hutchison (2001) goes beyond a sentence or two in her article "The purposes of American Catholic higher education: Changes and challenges." She mentions that Hesburgh partnered with Jesuit Father Paul Reinert of Saint Louis University in devising the plans for the change in governance, envisioning a partnership between the clergy and laity. Instead of weakening the Catholic identity, the transition may have sparked the need for Catholic university presidents to be

more purposeful and specific in outlining Catholic identity. O'Brien (1994) notes that only a few institutions gave up their Catholic identity at the time.

Even though some feel as though Hesburgh's support of lay control reinforced Catholic identity, others feel very strongly that such a move constitutes the secularizing of Catholic institutions. McIntire (2008) expresses repeated discontent that Hesburgh "accepted modernism instead of challenging, as the Church has historically done" (p. 4). He states that in the Land O'Lakes statement "anything and everything goes...moral relativism is the rule" (p. 4) and "they [the Catholic universities participating in the Land O'Lakes retreat] exchanged the faith of their fathers for an evolutionary heresy". McIntire may be correct in describing the natural tension and threat of secularization in shifting from a clerical to a predominantly lay Board, but his passion exaggerates key arguing points and renders his position as hyperbole.

O'Brien (1998) has written a comprehensive biography of Hesburgh, and his book includes a brief account of how Hesburgh recognized that Notre Dame was struggling financially and logistically under clerical control, and pushed for what turned out to be a rather smooth transition to the predominantly lay board. He says that "lay control was mostly a fiction under Fr. Ted's forceful leadership" (p. 98) as most board members viewed him with unwavering devotion. He says that one controversy centered on the provision that Notre Dame's president should continue to be a Holy Cross priest. Hesburgh supported this provision because he feared the University might move too far in the direction of secularization without the guarantee of a priest as president.

Three other authors have taken a closer look at the shift to lay boards. In his 1967 book *The Changing Catholic College* Greeley and his researchers investigate the

administrative functioning and governance of 25 higher education institutions, 19 of them Catholic, during the time in educational history when some Catholic institutions were in the process of shifting to lay control. He never mentions the names of the institutions studied, but he does note that in some interviews Hesburgh is mentioned as a positive force toward moving Notre Dame toward vast improvement (p. 91). He also shares that, in the institutions visited, there was a widespread sentiment, especially among the younger members of the clergy, that it was time to shift the power to lay control. In addition, Greeley says that the college president has a critical role to play in rapidly improving higher education institutions, both in setting goals and meeting them. One wonders if Greeley thought that other colleges had a lot to learn from the model of Hesburgh.

Gleason (1995) analyzes Catholic higher education in the twentieth century with his book *Contending with Modernity*. He evaluates the Land O'Lakes statement as a "declaration of independence from the [Church] hierarchy" (p. 317). Like Hutchison, Gleason expresses that presidents like Hesburgh and Reinert saw the lay board shift as a greater partnership between the laity and clergy. He also briefly notes three causal forces in bringing about the change in governance: Vatican II's call for fuller participation of lay people in the life of the Church, the realization of presidents like Hesburgh that they badly needed experienced lay people on their boards as the institutions grew increasingly complex, and the threat that government aid would be unconstitutional if given to sectarian colleges. Gleason indeed gives a good indication of three critical factors in the shift, but he does not provide much depth in explaining them.

In her book *Independence and a New Partnership in Catholic Higher Education*, Gallin (1996) very thoroughly reviews the process undergone at Notre Dame and other institutions as they moved toward mostly lay boards. She combs the minutes from board meetings and related memoranda and interviews a number of key stakeholders, including Hesburgh, to tell the story of how the decision came together and proceeded. In her account, two other people, in addition to Reinert of Saint Louis University, emerge as being critical in providing counsel to Hesburgh during this time: Father Kenna, Hesburgh's provincial and Edmund Stephan, a Chicago lawyer and a member of the lay advisory board at that time. Gallin also explains that Hesburgh expressed some initial reluctance about the change, for both sentimental and pragmatic reasons. Gallin echoes the reasons that Gleason named as key factors to Hesburgh's support for the transition: the need for lay involvement as the University grew and Vatican II's theology of the laity. Interestingly, Gallin states that had there been no Vatican II, Hesburgh still probably would have pushed for the change in governance. Also, Gallin mentions that the transition was a partial fulfillment of what Hesburgh had envisioned Notre Dame to be, "a strengthened Catholic university at the service of the church and society" (p. 67). Gallin's work is intimidating in its thoroughness and quality. More than anyone else, she creates a clear picture of the labor put into the transition. She also explores in some detail the pragmatic factors at the time that weighed into Hesburgh's decision, and she briefly alludes to future considerations he likely took into account.

This research study elaborates on and departs from Gallin's work in several important and distinct ways. First of all, Hesburgh's endorsement of the predominantly lay board is evaluated through the application of political theory. Secondly, the study's

research questions lead not only to an exploration of the climate and pressures of the time that influenced Hesburgh supporting the lay board transition, but also an in depth analysis of Hesburgh's ideological/philosophical viewpoints that weighed into the decision and his vision for the future of the university. These emphases are new. Finally, different from using board minutes, memoranda and interviews as primary sources of data, this study relies on interviews that reflect the theoretical orientation of this study as well as analyses of three written works of Hesburgh. The findings are supplemented with related research.

Chapter III

PROCEDURE

Conceptual Framework

When one has an important decision to make, especially one that will involve a significant change from the present state of things, the decision is often weighed from a variety of angles. If, for instance, a person had been working at a certain job for a number of years and was considering a change of profession, the person would consider his/her current salary and job conditions, but considerations of the future and influences from the past would likely weigh in too, such as what future job aspirations are, as well one's feelings toward change and fundamental beliefs about both the current and potential vocation.

In the same way, it is a worthy subject of inquiry to examine how Father Theodore Martin Hesburgh, president of the University of Notre Dame, evaluated the decision to move the University from a clerical Board of Trustees to a predominantly lay Board with a focus on how contemporary conditions and pressures, ideologies developed over his lifetime, and future ambitions affected the final decision. This study focuses not only on identifying various past, present and future considerations that affected the final outcome but analyzing to what degree and in what way the influences entered into the decision-making process.

Baldrige's (1971) political model is the lens through which the factors are framed, as the literature review revealed that this theory has been used in past scholarly

pieces to analyze shifts in academic governance and has been utilized by a number of researchers to evaluate program additions or policy decisions in an educational setting. Baldridge's political model purports that significant changes in the university's character illuminate the exercise of power in the university (p. 58). He describes a variety of components that surround this phenomenon, so this study measures findings against Baldridge's own six conclusions related to change and the exercise of power in the university.

Method of Analysis

Qualitative research provides the opportunity to investigate an issue holistically and meaningfully (Creswell, 1998), so it is the choice of research strategy in investigating Hesburgh's role in evaluating the need for Notre Dame to be turned over to a predominantly lay Board. To begin to understand how one arrives at a decision, it is necessary to look at how the person explains what he or she is doing as well as how he/she behaves; in other words, what a person says and what a person does must both be analyzed. Of course, hearing what the primary decision-maker says provides one valuable perspective. As Father Hesburgh writes and speaks a great deal about the transition to the predominantly lay board as well as about his philosophies pertaining to education, change, and the role of the laity, his insight revealed through works and speeches is of great value to this study.

Being the most comprehensive method to obtain narrative data, interviews are also utilized. Interviewing professors, former board members and administrators who

served as stakeholders in the transition and who know Hesburgh well contribute information as valuable as Hesburgh's own words. Other people, besides Hesburgh, who were observers of the decision and who have a different point of view or understanding of the situation and Hesburgh's actions pertaining to it help to create a more complete picture of why things happened as they did. The interviews were semi-structured in nature, allowing for probing and follow-up questions. Appendices B and C contain sample questions, and the researcher expected that individual interviewing experiences would be idiosyncratic, allowing for natural deviations in inquiry and exploration from these sample questions. Interviews were conducted face-to-face.

The primary research question answered through these modes of inquiry is: How did Father Theodore Hesburgh evaluate the need for the governing structure of the University of Notre Dame to be changed from a clerical Board to a predominantly lay Board of Trustees?

Subsidiary questions are:

1. What underlying philosophical/ideological perspectives weighed into his decision to pursue the establishment of a predominantly lay board of trustees?
2. What were the pragmatic pressures and considerations he was grappling with at the time?
3. What consequences did he anticipate for the future of Notre Dame and its members?

Appendix D notes how research questions are linked to interview questions.

The political model is the theoretical framework selected, and special attention was paid to consider how the change in Notre Dame's governance, under the leadership

of Father Hesburgh reflected the six conclusions regarding university change articulated by Baldrige (1971). Specifically, Baldrige stated that:

1. Within the university's pluralistic social structure various subcultures struggle to implement values, but often this can only be done at the expense of other groups.
2. External factors are often the most important impetus for organizational change, as the social context molds and shapes options that are available.
3. Central administration takes the lead in planning and implementing changes.
4. Change yields a complex interaction effect with many subtle changes in relationships.
5. Change reflects a real power play in which proponents of change hold most of the cards over proponents of the status quo.
6. A multitude of interest groups interact and overlap to try to influence the decision.

Interview questions and analyses of written and spoken works aimed to address the primary and subsidiary research questions while seeking out information and perspectives related to these considerations of the political model. Appendix D notes how research questions are linked to Baldrige's six conclusions on university change.

As the concept of "radical change" was also encountered in reviewing literature related to governance change, this concept is also explored and evaluated in relation to the transition. How the change in governance was a dramatic break from the way things had been done, fitting the notion of "radical change," according to Greenwood and Hinings (1996) and Nadler (1998) is considered. Also considered is the perspective uncovered in the literature review purporting the idea that radical change is not so radical,

in that it may be one of a series of environmental adaptations or continuous changes made over time.

Sources of Evidence

As has been stated, this research study involves interviews with key stakeholders in the transition to the predominantly lay Board as well as analyses of selected written and spoken works of the subject of this dissertation, Father Theodore M. Hesburgh. Related literature is supplemented to confirm or disconfirm information gathered from the interviews and document analyses.

Charlotte Ames's (1989) bio-bibliography of Hesburgh was consulted in order to review pertinent pieces for analysis, and three works were selected. The first is Hesburgh's 1946 doctoral dissertation titled "The relation of the sacramental characters of Baptism and Confirmation to the Lay Apostolate." Hesburgh's dissertation is important because it provides insight into his view on the role of the laity, a topic which was clearly of interest to him when he was as young as a graduate student and still forming his personal philosophy. The second work is "Change and the Changeless," a speech delivered by Hesburgh in 1961, 6 years prior to the Board transition and involves discussion of the broad idea of what necessarily changes and what should remain constant, largely foreshadowing the change in governance to come. Finally, the third piece is "The Vision of a Great Catholic University in the World Today." This speech was delivered on December 9, 1967 right after the transition to the predominantly lay Board was affirmed. Hesburgh states that "in many ways, this is the most important talk I

have ever written, since it deals with the heart of all our efforts during these recent years and, hopefully, is a realistic blueprint of what we hope to realize at Notre Dame...”

(Hesburgh, 1967, p. 1 of foreword). Each of these three pieces was created at various significant points in time with a variety of central themes that each may have contributions to offer in understanding the change of Board governance.

For interviews, obviously an interview with Father Hesburgh was requested. Although he has spoken before about the Board transition, this study offers a new way of framing and pursuing the topic. Other interviewees include former professors, administrators, and board members who had a “front row seat” as the transition was taking place. To develop a list of such candidates, an administrator still at the University who had interviewed Hesburgh in a recent article was contacted as was another person at the University whose name surfaced in his biography. The study was explained to them, and they were asked for recommendations of people who would be able to contribute a valuable perspective. Since this study analyzes Father Hesburgh’s decision-making, it was emphasized that the nominees should be people who have known Hesburgh very well. The names that were in agreement by both people are the names of the people who were sought. One interviewee is an American history professor and Holy Cross priest at Notre Dame who served on the Board and has known Hesburgh very well for decades. Another two interviewees are former high-level administrators who have worked closely with Hesburgh. The hope is that this variety of viewpoints contributes to a complete understanding of how Hesburgh made the weighty decision of fundamentally altering the University of Notre Dame’s governing structure.

Chapter IV

FINDINGS

Introduction

This chapter reports the findings of the study of how Father Theodore Hesburgh evaluated the need for the governing structure of the University of Notre Dame to be changed from a clerical Board to a predominantly lay Board of Trustees. Semi-structured interviews of four former professors and administrators, including Hesburgh, and analyses of three documents took place to answer the three subsidiary questions formulated by the researcher. Related literature is also supplemented. The three interview respondents other than Hesburgh were people who have a reputation for knowing Hesburgh well and who have worked with him closely. They include three people.

Dr. Timothy O'Meara served two terms as chair of the Department of Mathematics starting in 1962, and was appointed as the first non-clerical Provost by Hesburgh from 1976 to 1996, the university's highest administration position next to the president. From 1976 to 1996 he was also a member of Notre Dame's Board of Trustees and Board of Fellows.

Dr. James Frick graduated from Notre Dame in 1951, joined the Notre Dame administration in the fund-raising area that same year, was named Director of Development in 1961, and was named the first lay Vice President of Public Relations, Alumni Affairs, and Development by Hesburgh in 1965. He retired from this position in 1983.

Father Thomas Blantz, C.S.C. was a student at Notre Dame from 1953 to 1957, during Father Hesburgh's early presidency, and after studying in Rome and New York he returned to Notre Dame in 1966 and has been there ever since. He served as chair of the Department of History from 1980 to 1987, was Vice President for Student Affairs from 1970 to 1972, and has been a member of Notre Dame's Board of Trustees since 1970 (Emeritus now.) From 1970 to 1987 he also lived in the Holy Cross community residence (Corby Hall), just a couple of doors from Father Hesburgh's room.

The interviews occurred in the middle of May, 2009. The three subsidiary research questions are:

1. What underlying philosophical/ideological perspectives weighed in Hesburgh's decision to pursue the establishment of a predominantly lay board of trustees?
2. What were the pragmatic pressures and considerations he was grappling with at the time?
3. What consequences did he anticipate for the future of Notre Dame and its members?

The first section of this chapter considers factors related to Hesburgh's personal philosophical viewpoints that had developed over a longer period of time than the immediate decision of the shift in governance. Interviews as well as analyses of two works, "Change and the Changeless" (Hesburgh, 1961) and *The Relation of the Sacramental Characters of Baptism and Confirmation to the Lay Apostolate* (also known as *The Theology of Catholic Action*) (Hesburgh, 1946) were carried out to respond to the first subsidiary question comprising the first section. The second section, looking at the climate at the time the Board decision was made, corresponds to subsidiary question 2.

Interviews were the method by which information was gathered for this section. In the final section, focusing on what Hesburgh envisioned for Notre Dame's future and corresponding to subsidiary question 3, interviews as well as an analysis of a speech titled "The Vision of a Great Catholic University in the World Today" (Hesburgh, 1967) were sources of evidence. As has been mentioned, references to related literature have been added to all three sections as appropriate.

In addition to addressing research questions, each section is evaluated against corresponding points in Baldrige's six conclusions regarding change at universities (Baldrige, 1971) as well as theory related to radical change. Appendix D provides a table linking the theory to interview and research questions.

Subsidiary Question 1

What underlying philosophical/ideological perspectives weighed in Hesburgh's decision to pursue the establishment of a predominantly lay board of trustees?

Interviews and document analysis yielded three main philosophical ideas that were relevant in the shift to the predominantly lay Board. They are elaborated individually and are change, the role of the Catholic laity, and Catholic intellectual life.

Change

The latter part of 1967 was not the first time Hesburgh had thought about or enacted change. On December 15, 1961 he delivered a winter convocation address at the University of Chicago titled "Change and the Changeless." The main idea of the speech was that each of us should seek out change with meaning and direction. Speaking broadly and philosophically on the topic, he asks the students to take a look at themselves and to

try to think of any activity or thing in the world that is not characterized by change, "be it thinking or loving, an ocean, an animal, a flower, or even a stone. All these change and we change" (p. 26). Hesburgh aims to point out that the concept of change is natural and necessary, something that is ever present but may be unexamined in our lives. Hesburgh brings the focus in more closely when he describes the metaphor of education as change: "there is no straight line here, otherwise our curricula would not be in a constant state of flux, with experimental programs abounding on all sides" (p. 26). Hesburgh states that education is a realm where change is important. He says, "education is at base a change, hopefully for the better" (p. 26).

As much as he advocates change permeating our lives, Hesburgh also suggests that there are things that need to remain "changeless." He elaborates, "the absolutes, the important, the necessary, the beautiful, the truth and the good are all changeless. Lose them, and all is motion without direction, activity without meaning" (p. 30). He suggests there must be anchors that guide us as we seek change in any particular direction. In another point in his speech, Hesburgh equates the changeless with values and urges students to be dedicated to the values that "will decide the splendor or tragedy of our individual lives" (p. 31). Bringing the two ideas of change and the changeless together, he says that if "the course of change is directed toward that which is changeless and of enduring value, then the intensity and rapidity of change in our times has no terror but only promise, for in the changeless we find a road through darkness into light, from the vagaries of time to the meaning of eternity, from that which is humanly imperfect to that which is gloriously divine" (p. 31). As this speech was delivered about 5 years before the monumental lay board transition took place, it can be viewed as a foreshadowing of the

event. Hesburgh seemed to encourage his audience to anticipate the change that is to come, and one is left to wonder if he was thinking about his plans for the future of Notre Dame's governance.

One respondent gave a less sweeping example than the lay Board transition of how Hesburgh, in his tenure as President, brought change to Notre Dame. He recalled that when Hesburgh arrived as President there was a student manual that was nearly 50 pages long. When Hesburgh finished examining it, it was down to 4 pages. He cut out a lot of rules, such as forcing students into daily mass attendance and elaborately outlining repercussions for offenses such as alcohol consumption.

When interviewed on the topic, Hesburgh described change as life: "I think life is essentially a changing proposition; change is the definition of life. When we're born, we're helpless, but as we begin to mature, we learn how to think and decide and work and become qualified for all sorts of different roles."

Other respondents echoed the belief that Hesburgh has always felt very comfortable with change. One explained that Father Hesburgh has always understood that any university that is going to grow and get better is going to change. Although respondents recognized Hesburgh's affinity for change, they also explained that the changes he sought were done thoughtfully. One explained that he acknowledged that change could mean the risk of taking a wrong turn, but he was comfortable in making decisions like starting a new program, bringing in new members of the administration, realizing that things may have to be monitored and tinkered with. Another respondent explained that Hesburgh is loyal to people and to ideas, but he can be convinced that

change is necessary. He explained that when Hesburgh made changes, his mind underwent a lot of analysis as he listened to a lot of the various voices entering the debate and thought through a variety of perspectives before he came to a conclusion.

The “Change and the Changeless” speech delivered in 1961 as well as perspectives of the interviewees support the position that Father Hesburgh has sustained a long interest in the topic of change as well as a long-standing appreciation for its importance in the world, especially the world of education. Rather than being reckless with the notion of change, he has shown evidence of supporting change that is in line with values and is carried out with planning and evaluation. Knowing this, it follows that a person with such an interest would consider the possibility of changing the structure of a Board of Trustees if he felt that it was in line with his values and moved the University of Notre Dame in a direction he perceived to be more positive.

Role of the Catholic Laity

From his days as a student, Hesburgh was interested in the role of the laity in the life of the Catholic Church. When he was a doctoral student of theology at Catholic University, he decided to write his doctoral dissertation on a subject that he felt had received little, if any, scholarly attention: the theology of the Catholic laity. In his interview, he said he felt that there had been many books written on the clergy, the theology of the priesthood, and parish theology, but those works neglected 99% of the Catholic Church, the laity. In his dissertation titled “The Relation of the Sacramental Characters of Baptism and Confirmation to the Lay Apostolate” (Hesburgh, 1946) (renamed “The Theology of Catholic Action” in book form) (Hesburgh, 1946), Hesburgh

proposed the main idea that the laity do not simply participate in the apostolate of the Church hierarchy; they do not simply help clergy, bishops and priests to do the work of running the Church. Instead, he proposed that the laity have a theology of their own, a standing in their own right, that is different than what the members of the hierarchy have to offer. He explains,

They [the laity] are in the world. They see things day to day in their various roles as professional people, teachers, doctors, lawyers, mothers, fathers, and all the rest. So they have a special charism, which means a gift, from God as lay people. By the sacrament of baptism and confirmation, they are conformed of the figure of Christ in their souls, and they are given the power to bring Christ not only internally into their own lives, but also externally to others. That's called the lay apostolate, not the participation in the bishops' apostolate, but the lay apostolate.

Much of the thesis uses very theological images and wordage to arrive at its main ideas, but several key points clearly relate to Hesburgh's statement that the laity need to have a more active and validated role in the life and workings of the Church: (a) The lay apostolate is not a mere appendage of the Christian life, and the Christian life of the layman would be incomplete without some apostolic expression of its vitality: "Effective social charity is the essence of Christianity" (p. 186). (b) "The pattern of apostolic action is the pattern of the Christian life in Christ's body, each member doing his part according to his providential position, his way of life in the body" (p. 187). (c) The laity disposes others to be taught, governed, and sanctified, especially in the function of teaching so that those who would not have direct contact with the truth of Christ are brought into contact

with teachers of this truth. (d) "In many cases, the Christian layman is the sole point of contact between the saving message of Christ and the secularized world which cannot be saved without Christ. Hence the dignity, necessity, and providential nature of the lay apostolate today..." (p. 188).

In these conclusions, one sees hints of Hesburgh's determination to bring lay people into a more active role in participating, governing, and teaching in those spheres that relate to the Catholic Church, so it is no stretch to foresee that the structure of a predominantly lay Board would be an appropriate form in expressing these roles and responsibilities.

Other respondents also thought there was a definite link between Hesburgh's (1946) doctoral dissertation and his 1967 decision to shift Notre Dame to a predominantly lay Board. One said that Hesburgh expressed that 98% of Catholics are laymen and should have a bigger part in the Church; that they are the Church, as a matter of fact. Though they cannot hear confessions or say mass, education is one area where they can have a greater sphere of influence, so that they should have a bigger part in Catholic universities. Another respondent said that Hesburgh believed strongly that the strength of the Church of the future resided in the laity, and it is reflected in his decision to transition to a predominantly lay Board of Trustees. He added that some of the trustees preceding the lay Board had been lackeys to the Church and to the order, but the laity was strong enough from the beginning to do things in their own right, and not to have to do things only to hand them off to the hierarchy.

In seeking to understand Hesburgh's philosophical viewpoints concerning the role of the Catholic laity, it follows that there must be an understanding of his viewpoints concerning the role of hierarchy of the Catholic Church. In O'Brien's (1998) biography on Hesburgh, it is clear that from a very young age Theodore Hesburgh was certain that he wanted to be a Catholic priest. However, his interactions with the Catholic hierarchy which he sought to join were not always very smooth. During his interview, Hesburgh admitted that when he proposed his idea for a dissertation topic, the idea was met with resistance from priests overseeing his studies who did not see the topic as a serious subject. He persevered in his interest, though, believing that such an enormous segment of the Catholic Church deserved more attention.

Respondents illustrated several other occasions during which Hesburgh encountered various hierarchy-related stumbling blocks. These examples illustrate a sort of recurrent power struggle between Hesburgh and members of the Catholic hierarchy. For example, one respondent explained that when the International Federation of Catholic Universities (IFCU) elected Father Hesburgh as its first president in 1963, the response from Rome was "no," that the leader had to be appointed by Rome. It turned out that Pope Paul VI confirmed Hesburgh as the leader, but the point was made that he was appointed rather than elected. This version of events is corroborated and elaborated in Hesburgh's autobiography (1990) as well as O'Brien's (1998) biography of Hesburgh. After the election, Hesburgh was called to Rome, where a powerful archbishop declared the election invalid because it had not followed canon law. He put Hesburgh on a six-member council to run the IFCU, but the council was perceived to be dominated by insiders loyal to the archbishop. Hesburgh rejected the appointment, and he was backed

up by Monsignor Georges LeClercq, the secretary general of the IFCU, who was astounded by Hesburgh's poise and courage (O'Brien, 1998). Hesburgh persisted in insisting on democracy over autocracy until Pope Paul VI stepped in and confirmed Hesburgh as President of the IFCU.

In a similar way, when the Holy Cross priests decided that they would turn Notre Dame over to the predominantly lay Board, approval from Rome was necessary first (Gallin, 1996). To obtain the approval, Father Edward Heston, the procurator general in Rome, went to the Congregation of Religious and Secular Institutes and dropped the request for the rescript (written permission from the Pope) at the appropriate desk. The request was approved in a few days, and Father Lalande paid the normal fee of 1500 lira (about three dollars) for transferring the ownership of assets (Hesburgh, 1990).

Another example of such tension illustrates Hesburgh's insistence on academic freedom over hierarchical control. The 1960s were a time of celebrating freedom as a central theme of American higher education (Gleason, 1995) and Hesburgh pursued the agenda of academic freedom with zeal (Gallin, 2006, O'Brien, 1998). One respondent explained that, during Hesburgh's tenure in the year 1954, there was a visiting priest and author at Notre Dame named John Courtney Murray who held controversial beliefs about Church control and was scheduled to contribute to a symposium at Notre Dame on the Catholic Church in world affairs. The papers delivered by the participants in the symposium were collected and published by the University of Notre Dame Press as a book called *The Catholic Church and World Affairs*. He said that when Rome got wind of it, they called Father Hesburgh and told him to suppress the book. Specifically, it was

Cardinal Alfredo Ottaviani who gave Hesburgh's Superior General, Father Christopher O'Toole the order to make sure the book was removed from the bookshelves. Father Hesburgh simply refused to do it and said that the book would be on sale at the book store, brazenly defying the wishes of the hierarchy. O'Brien (1998) and Hesburgh (1990) elaborate on this story and describe how the order from the Holy Cross Superior General in Rome to censor the book hit Hesburgh like a call to action, and he declared that he would resign as President if ordered to do so. Even more boldly, not long after the incident Notre Dame granted Murray an honorary doctorate at commencement.

Although it is clear Hesburgh believed that in matters relating to academic freedom and university functioning, the Catholic hierarchy needed to take a back seat, all this is not to say that Father Hesburgh lacked reverence for the role of the Catholic hierarchy. In "The Theology of Catholic Action" (1946) he discusses the spiritual necessity for the Church hierarchy, who mediates ministerially, "teaching, governing, and sanctifying by the fullness of its power and authority" (p.187) to work in conjunction with the laity who mediates dispositively, "forming a link between the hierarchy and a secularized world...thus extending the hierarchy's sphere of influence" (p.188). In asserting different roles, the laity and the hierarchy could work together.

Catholic Intellectual Life

A third theme that emerged in interviews as having shaped Father Hesburgh's mindset over time in moving toward the predominantly lay Board was his concern for the development of Catholic intellectual life. Kauffman (1992) supports one respondent's explanation that, at the end of the nineteenth century (1889) the Catholic hierarchy was

celebrating its centennial in Baltimore and the principal speaker, Archbishop John Ireland, pursued the theme of the need for the Church to develop among its people an intellectual dimension where education was essential. In the latter half of the 1930s, before Hesburgh began his tenure as President, a survey was taken to determine the religious affiliations of faculty members at 28 state universities and colleges and 35 state normal schools across all sections of the country. One of the researchers was Father John O'Brien, at the University of Illinois, a person whom Father Hesburgh knew well. The results of the survey were published in *Catholics and Scholarship: A symposium on the development of scholars* (1939) and indicated that Catholics had very poor faculty representation, whereas Protestants were very high on the list. O'Brien illustrated this point with various tables and commented,

A cursory glance at these two tables shows that the Catholic Church while having the largest membership of any church in America has the smallest proportion of its members on the faculties of State Universities and Normal Schools. The situation is even worse, however, than it would appear from these tables. For the overwhelming majority of Catholics on the faculties of State Universities hold minor positions, many of them being merely instructors still working for their doctorates (p. 20)

The respondent believed there was an unspoken suggestion that since Catholics were controlled by the clergy they were not "individualized" or able to think for themselves. He said this not only led to a suspicion of Catholics but also a feeling among Catholics of being second-rate. O'Brien (1939) concurs that these results "cost us dearly in prestige, in influence upon scholarship, and in public opinion" (p. 23). Gleason (1995)

affirms that in *Catholics and Scholarship* (1939) O'Brien detailed the results of the study and the "appalling paucity of Catholics in the ranks of scientific researchers, their near-invisibility in the professoriate at large, and their dismal failure to influence national cultural life" (p. 202).

In these middle years of the twentieth century, Catholic theological debate was not limited to the United States. In France and Germany, scholars such as Lubac, Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, Yves Congar, and Karl Rahner were leaders in the "nouvelle theologie" movement which advocated a return to the sources of the Christian faith in the scriptures and the writings of the Church Fathers. Along with this, the movement adopted a systemic openness to dialogue with the contemporary world on issues of theology. Although extremely controversial at that time, these theologians' writings and perspectives had much appeal in the years approaching the Second Vatican Council (Kerr, 2007).

The respondent believes that there was a lot of discussion that resulted from this research, so that in the 1950s, the ferment extended to the Church itself and impacted the Second Vatican Council. He said that a professor named John Tracey Ellis, someone with whom Father Hesburgh was also familiar, was a big contributor to this discourse. He published a very influential article, "American Catholics and the Intellectual Life" (Ellis, 1955). Gleason (1997) agrees that Ellis' criticism of Catholic intellectual life created an eruption of self-criticism among Catholics.

Another respondent said, and Hope (2009) supports, that within the first half of the twentieth century, on the campus of Notre Dame, there was notable research being

done on the campus, such as Father Julius Nieuwland developing a synthetic rubber called neoprene in 1931, germ-free animal research or “gnotobiology” being pioneered by Bernard Wostmann in the 1950s, and even advances made by a group of Notre Dame physicists in the mid-1930s to build a generator for atom smashing. The respondent said that although Hesburgh and his predecessors were inspired by great Catholic institutions of Europe, known for their rigor, and sought to develop a great Catholic university in Notre Dame, there was no escaping the fact that at Notre Dame academics were not nearly as strong or taken as seriously as the football team. One historian (Schelereth, 1976) found that the cost of the football uniforms was about the same amount as was budgeted for library book acquisitions in 1929. When Notre Dame hired Frank Leahy in 1941 as its football coach and athletic director, Notre Dame faced a great deal of criticism for being a football factory, as Leahy was obsessed with winning and often brought shame to the university by his devious tactics, like faking injuries, and by generally doing whatever he pleased, operating an “autonomous fiefdom” (O’Brien, 1998, p. 50).

Finally, another respondent stated that a related force at the time was the view that every university, even a Catholic one, has a public contribution to make. So not only did Notre Dame need to set its sights on improving its academic rigor, but it also had to prepare its students for a life beyond the walls of Notre Dame, educating students for a life of citizenship in our democratic country and preparing them for public responsibilities they will have. A governing structure that is constituted of predominantly lay people rather than clergy is much more conducive toward reaching that end. As one respondent stated in describing the Board of Trustees: “You bring these important people who come in from the government, from arts and sciences, education, and public life, and

they advise the President and the deans, giving some kind of public input into how the University is training people for life.”

Hesburgh backs up the need for a diverse group of members doing the work of bettering the community in *The Hesburgh Papers: Higher Values in Higher Education* (1979). He sees the work of the President and Board as an opportunity to advance values: “Participatory democracy cannot simply mean endless discussion. Rather, if it is to work at all, it means that every member of the community exercises moral responsibility...especially when it hurts and when it demands the courage to say and do what may be unpopular” (p. 157) and criticizes other university boards that are “consistently wealthy, male, white, aged, Western, Republican, and Protestant... One might ask how such trustees can provide wisdom for a community that contained reasonably large numbers of all the elements not represented on the board” (p. 154). When talking about selecting members of Notre Dame’s Board, Hesburgh (1990) says, “We sought balance on the board, and that is still the aim today. We wanted a majority of Catholics, but we wanted Protestants and Jews on our board. We wanted women and members of minority groups, too. At the same time, we looked for people who had the talent or the expertise to help us with special problems . . .” (p 177).

Change Theory

The first subsidiary research question corresponds with two of Baldrige’s conclusions regarding change: (a) Within the university’s pluralistic social structure various subcultures struggle to implement values, but often this can only be done at the expense of other groups. (b) Change reflects a real power play in which proponents of

change hold most of the cards over proponents of the status quo.

The first point illustrates an idea that can be taken for granted when analyzing a change such as the lay Board: a victory for some could only come at the price of a loss for others. In this case, it is undeniable that advancing the decision-making power and leadership role of the laity came at the expense of the clerical influence. The clergy lost control over Notre Dame and the predominantly lay Board gained it.

It is true, too, that there was a struggle to implement values among the groups. Father Hesburgh, in arguing for lay control, valued the laity's standing as people fully immersed in the world, carrying out various roles as professionals, parents, and neighbors. He valued the laity's active involvement and participation in the life of the Church. The Church hierarchy, on the other hand, prioritized what they had to offer with their expertise as trained leaders of the Church. Hesburgh also valued change, as has been detailed in this section, and his affinity for change was also a value that contributed toward the ultimate decision.

The second point, relating to power play, also fits the change to the predominantly lay Board well. As this section illustrated, Notre Dame, prior to the change, was in the midst of an identity crisis as a second-rate university with a reputation for football. With pressure mounting for Catholics to get serious about enhancing their intellectual lives, the time was ripe for Hesburgh to make the move. In a sense, his plan to advance the development of the University with the lay Board was the card he held over the status quo, and the status quo was a university that was less than ideal.

What were the pragmatic pressures and considerations Father Hesburgh was grappling with at the time of the transition to the predominantly lay Board?

Interviews yielded three main pragmatic considerations that were relevant as Hesburgh shifted Notre Dame's governance to the predominantly lay Board. They are elaborated individually and are collaboration toward radical change, the Catholic identity, and the financial success of the University.

Collaboration Toward Radical Change

Key Players. All respondents, including Hesburgh, agreed that he was the key player in moving Notre Dame in the direction of the predominantly lay Board. One respondent explained it this way: "If Father Hesburgh had not been around, we would not have changed, or perhaps we would have been followers in the change... but the changes would not have been the same." Gallin (1996) also verifies it was Hesburgh who took the reins and initiated conversations in the summer of 1965 among members of the Church hierarchy on the topic of a new governing structure for the University.

Although each person agreed on Hesburgh serving as leader, each also noted others who aided greatly in bringing the idea of the predominantly lay Board to fruition. Father Hesburgh noted especially the teamwork between himself and Father Paul Reinert, S.J. who was then President of Saint Louis University. He said that although others believed it to be "heresy" (McIntire, 2008), both he and Reinert were on the same page in believing that the universities should be given, "lock, stock, and barrel to a lay Board... and let them be the people who own and operate the University. We will serve them as

adjuncts, as priests; those things we can do." Gallin (1996) affirms that both Hesburgh and Reinert were anxious for their universities to become places embodying Ellis' vision of academic excellence, both had profound respect for the promise of the laity, both were extremely committed to their religious communities, and both were intimately involved in education associations that prioritized the need for Catholic education to be excellent. With so much in common, the two priests and Presidents made great partners.

Two other respondents recognized the cooperation of the hierarchy of the Holy Cross congregation in accomplishing the transition to the predominantly lay Board, specifically the efforts of the Provincial Superior, Father Howard Kenna, and the Superior General, Father Germain-Marie Lalande. As one respondent explained, although Hesburgh was President of Notre Dame, it was the congregation of the Holy Cross, the Provincial Superior of the Indiana province, to whom the property really belonged. So, in a sense, the property had to be alienated by the order in order to be acquired by the University. Gallin (1996) explains that while Hesburgh discussed the change in governance to the Holy Cross community, Kenna did the important legwork of communicating his thoughts in favor of the change to the members of his province and other key allies. The shift required a special chapter meeting on March 28, 1967 of the Holy Cross priests as trustees to approve of the setting up of the lay Board and to receive their permission to abandon it. As Hesburgh recalls, at the end of the week-long meeting, there was a vote taken and of the 45 delegates, 36 were in favor of the change, and 6 were opposed.

Also, three respondents acknowledged the collaboration and expertise of Edmund Stephan in helping Father Hesburgh to accomplish his goal of the predominantly lay Board. Ed Stephan would be the first Chairman of the Board of Trustees. He and Father Hesburgh were very close friends, and Stephan was a Notre Dame graduate. At the time, Stephan was a senior partner at one of the biggest law firms in Chicago. He helped Father Hesburgh to draft the statutes and constitutions related to the change in governance. One respondent believes he went to Rome with Hesburgh to sell the idea there. He also recalls that Stephan was present at the meetings in Corby Hall, where the Holy Cross priests were called to gather to discuss the potential shift in the Board composition. At these meetings, Stephan explained the legal aspects of the decision to the priests and he was also there to answer questions.

So, although Father Hesburgh was the dominant figure in the shift, it is clear that the change could not have been accomplished without securing collaborators in order for Hesburgh to receive necessary permissions, technical assistance, and personal counsel.

Radical change. When asked whether the shift to the predominantly lay Board qualifies as a radical change, 3 of the 4 respondents, including Father Hesburgh, said that it does. One stated that it was just the next logical step in adjusting to the climate of higher education at the time. Another, who agreed that it was radical, stated that there was simply no other logical choice. Both Father Hesburgh and another respondent said it was radical because it took the ownership and leadership of the University from the clergy and gave it to the laity. All respondents pointed out the opposition that was encountered in the shift. Dissecting that opposition will be done more thoroughly in the

third section of this chapter. One respondent expressed a statement that all other respondents seemed to indicate: "There were people opposed to it in the order and in the faculty: people afraid of change and how they would be affected by the change."

Catholic Identity

Gleason (1995) discusses that the late 1960s were the first period where there were serious discussions of Catholic identity as the increase of lay people in administration and governance in Catholic colleges created a new dynamic in the relationships among the college, religious community, Catholic community, and Church authority. In Rome, concern for preserving the Catholic identity of colleges and universities was a pressing concern. The first international congress of Catholic universities was held at the Vatican in 1969 from April 25 to May 1. From this meeting came a statement entitled, *The Catholic University and the Aggiornamento*. A subsequent meeting in 1972 produced a document entitled, *The Catholic University in the Modern World*. This document laid out a set of characteristics to be true of all Catholic that has been echoed all the way up to Pope John Paul II's *Ex Corde Ecclesiae* in 1990.

In handing the University over to the lay Board, Hesburgh knew that a primary concern would be maintaining the religious character of Notre Dame. Respondents noted that, although a great deal of power was entrusted to the predominantly lay Board, there was also care given to the preservation of the Catholic character of the University as the structure and functioning of the predominantly lay Board was being established. For example, it was reinforced that the President of the University shall always be a Holy Cross priest. Also, the Board of Fellows is a 12 member governing body that works in

tandem with the Board of Trustees. It is made up of six Holy Cross priests and six lay people. In matters of decision-making, there needs to be a 2/3 majority vote. One respondent explained that the setting up of the predominantly lay Board of Trustees and the Board of Fellows was the way to try to accomplish the need to get more outside and lay influence into the University while at the same time preserving the Catholic character of the University. Another respondent noted that in this way "neither group could play emperor...they could not behave in an arbitrary way."

Interestingly, in Gallin's (1996) analysis of documents associated with the change in governance, she finds that Stephan was critical in engineering the attention to the University's Catholic character, as this was of the utmost importance to him too. He wrote a legal proposal elaborating the establishment and special role of the Fellows and then suggested that they be seen as analogous to shareholders in a business corporation, "delegating a large portion of their authority to a Board of Trustees" (p. 59).

Financial Success of the University

In the landscape of higher education during the mid sixties, there was extreme tension related to financing, especially vexing the leaders of religiously-affiliated colleges and universities. The literature review explained that *Horace Mann League v. Board of Public Works* (1966) and *Tilton v. Richardson* (1971) cases proved that colleges' boards could be evaluated as being too sectarian and therefore ineligible for federal loan and grants. The Perkins study (1966) provided data that suggested Catholic colleges were a subgroup with a form of government distinct from most other private institutions and intimately connected to religious communities (Gallin, 1996). This was

all bad news for Catholic higher education institutions that were struggling for financial survival. Gleason (1995) pinpoints the threat hanging heavy in the air that government aid would be unconstitutional if given to sectarian colleges.

In addition to handling the stress related to the separation of Church and state, Father Hesburgh had the additional challenge of scouting out talent for managing the University's finances, a job once handed off to Catholic priests/university administrators, who had taken a vow of poverty, and were typically not suited for leadership roles in university fundraising. Geiger (2003) and Hunt and Carper (1995) have documented the challenge of fundraising at Catholic colleges and universities in the years following World War II. One respondent recalls how Father Hesburgh hand-picked him to take the place of a priest who had been in that very role. Hesburgh explained to the respondent that the priest was overwhelmed and uninterested in raising money, and he actively pursued him as a replacement for the job. Later the respondent came in contact with the priest he had replaced and the priest explained to him that he had become a priest to get away from business and to devote his life to God; he had no interest in begging people for money. The respondent had a different perspective and shared that he did not see his role as one of begging for money at all; he believed that he gave "people a chance to do something that's worthwhile, to really make a name for themselves." He explained that generally the priests meant well in their efforts of fundraising prior to his leadership, but they had very little training in managing money and in philanthropy, so it simply made no sense to have them at the helm.

Interestingly, the respondent also explained that although Hesburgh had a good eye for knowing what needed to be done to keep the University financially thriving, he himself was very uncomfortable asking for money. The respondent said that he never put Hesburgh before a donor without having an absolute conviction that the donor was going to contribute money at a certain level that had already been hammered out.

Another respondent also pointed out that besides the reality of the priests not having been trained for fundraising, this period of time also coincided with a steep decline in vocations, so there were simply fewer priests to choose from in filling such positions. Gallin (1996) notes that from 1966 to 1969 an estimated 3,413 men resigned from the priesthood. Stark and Finke (2000) explain that in 1965 there were 181,421 nuns, 12,255 brothers, and 48,046 male seminarians, but by 1970 the numbers had dropped to 153,645 nuns, 11,623 brothers, and 28,819 seminarians (a 40% decline in seminarians). In the respondent's words, of those reduced numbers who did enter religious life, "a priest did not decide to become a priest because of an opportunity to be a vice-president."

Before Father Hesburgh was President, during the presidency of Father James Burns (1919-1922) there was a major fundraising drive where the general education board for the Rockefeller Foundation agreed to give \$250,000 and the Carnegie Foundation offered \$75,000 to Notre Dame if it collected a \$750,000 itself (Hope, 2009). The drive was very successful, thanks in large part to the fervor and legwork of Father Burns, but there was an implication that, if this great amount of money is going to be collected, then the money should not be entirely in the hands of a group of priests who

have taken vows of poverty and are not that familiar with managing money. Instead, it might be better to have an advisory board who can better direct the money (Hope, 2009). Accordingly, there was an advisory board of lay trustees set up for this purpose. The respondent recalls that this group ran straight on into the 1950s and 1960s and included such people as Joseph P. Kennedy, President John Kennedy's father, Albert Erskine, President of the Studebaker Corporation, Frank Walker, who was President Franklin Roosevelt's Postmaster General, and Edward Hurley, who had headed the United States shipping Board during World War I. With this capable group of lay people having a say in managing the endowment, the change to the lay Board would have seemed all the more sensible to Hesburgh.

Finally, and related to the point addressed above, not only were lay Board members great for their advice; they were also fantastic donors to the University. As a respondent pointed out, if you are invited to be a member of the Board of Trustees, there is a fiduciary responsibility you are taking on. In other words, you are being trusted with the betterment of the University, and this is partially made up of your own financial contribution.

Change Theory

Baldrige's conclusions. The second subsidiary research question corresponds with three of Baldrige's conclusions regarding change: (a) External factors are often the most important impetus for organizational change, as the social context molds and shapes options that are available. (b) Central administration takes the lead in planning and

implementing changes. (c) A multitude of interest groups interact and overlap to try to influence the decision.

In reference to the first point about external factors being the impetus for organizational change, it is true that external factors may well have influenced Father Hesburgh's decision. For example, this section describes how the *Horace Mann League v. Board of Public Works* (1966) and *Tilton v. Richardson* (1971) cases and The Perkins study (1966) led to the threat of government aid being removed if college Boards and the institutions themselves were too intimately affiliated with religious groups. On the other hand, there is a very strong internal impetus for change present in this decision. Not only the philosophical stances held by Father Hesburgh that were detailed in the first section, but also the dynamics occurring within the University, of clergy members being less than equipped to handle management tasks, and the fact that those who were the key players in bringing about the change were heavily invested in Notre Dame, working there, having studied there, and being trained there.

In terms of the second point, and central administration taking the lead in change, Father Hesburgh meets that criterion to the extreme. There has perhaps never been a stronger example of this point in higher education history. Interestingly, Gallin (1996) attributes the speed with which lay control of boards was accomplished to the highly developed network among the presidents, who were in frequent contact with one another as well as other key leaders in education, the religious community, and beyond.

Finally, it can be said that various groups tried to interact to influence the final decision, but that is not a central theme that was gained in collecting data. Of course,

there were Holy Cross priests who disagreed with the decision and who voted against it, but at the critical ranks in the hierarchy, the Provincial and higher level of the Holy Cross clergy, it appears that there was cooperation. Perhaps the segment on Catholic Identity illustrates how care had to be taken to reassure various groups that their concerns were being addressed; knowing that the President would always be a Holy Cross Priest and the Board of Fellows would have decision-making power with the presence of six priests may have accomplished that task.

Radical change. This section includes commentary from respondents as they considered whether the Board change was a radical change. In analyzing their opinions against research literature, it seems as though the establishment of the predominantly lay Board fits Greenwood and Hinings (1996) definition of a radical change as breaking loose from an existing orientation and the entire transformation of organizing principles and structure with a one-time discontinuous alteration. The University broke from the tradition of clerical control over major decision-making and put in its place a governing structure of lay control, effectively removing power from the clergy's hands and placing it in the hands of the predominantly lay Board. The literature also focuses on the role of a manager in implementing radical change (Miner, 1994), and in this case it is clear that Hesburgh served as the manager in choosing the right time and right team to pursue his agenda.

Subsidiary Question 3

What consequences did Father Hesburgh anticipate for the future of Notre Dame and its members?

Interviews and document analysis yielded two main consequences for the future of Notre Dame and its members anticipated by Hesburgh as he established the predominantly lay Board. They are elaborated individually and are changes in relationships of power and changes in the trajectory of the University.

Changes in Power Relationships

All respondents echoed the sentiment that lay people were clear victors in the transition to the predominantly lay Board. Father Hesburgh expressed, "it said for all time that the laity are not just worker bees in the Church; they're part of the Church, and they actually have control of great Church institutions." Clearly the transition handed the lay Board an enormous amount of decision-making power that had not previously been theirs.

The establishment of the predominantly lay Board had implications for the University President. One respondent explains that it served as a limit to his power, introducing the idea of consulting a team before making major decisions related to hiring or policy-making.

Another respondent expressed that it led to shared decision-making that might have taken some pressure off of the President. The respondent recalled that, during the time the lay Board change was taking place, there was a lot of student unrest on campuses around the country. He remembered that students were burning things and otherwise threatening to express disenchantment. He said at this time Father Hesburgh may have felt comfortable with such a Board of Trustees behind him because if he ever made a decision that was protested, then he could defer to the Board and let them make

the final decision. This would take some of the heat off of him, and it also gives a wider view of the decision.

Hesburgh (1979) confirms that there were lessons he learned during that period of the student revolutions. He says that “student questioning about governance caught most colleges and universities flat-footed” (p. 154) before university leaders did the job of sitting down and evaluating Board representation, diversification, and the need to strengthen the community to create “credibility, legitimacy, and the will to govern itself” (p. 155).

In enhancing the lay Board's power, the power of the Church hierarchy was greatly reduced. Two respondents used the recent visit of President Obama to Notre Dame's campus to illustrate an example. With the predominantly lay Board, the Provincial Superior of the congregation of the Holy Cross only gets one vote on the Board. Before, when the Holy Cross priests ran the Board, the Provincial, under the vow of obedience, could have ordered the President to revoke Obama's invitation to speak. Gallin (1996) confirms that, prior to the establishment of the predominantly lay Boards, the vow of obedience meant that behind the decisions of the president lay the very real authority of the religious superior. Another respondent agreed that this removal of power from the Church hierarchy is at the center of what has come to the forefront in the controversy related to Obama's speaking on campus; it is a reminder of the power that the Church no longer has to say, “hey, we don’t like that; please change it.”

Although the Board change did strip a great deal of power from the Holy Cross priests, the decision did not have their widespread disapproval. All respondents pointed

out that it was only some of the priests who were extremely opposed, while most may have had their concerns, but were in favor. One respondent explains that a sense of loss for the priests stemmed from the fact that, before the change, there were priests working as missionaries in extremely poor places all over the world, relying on profits from Notre Dame to support their work. Before the lay Board, it was relatively easy to approach the President and receive approval for funds to support such efforts. The priests feared that the new structure would threaten this sort of aid. Gallin (1996) similarly notes that some Holy Cross priests were “deeply and emotionally affected by the transfer of governing authority to a board of trustees not controlled by their religious communities, and therefore not ‘theirs’” (p. 9).

Changes in the Trajectory of the University

Shortly after the final decision to change to the predominantly lay Board, Father Hesburgh gave an address at the Special Convocation commemorating the 125th Anniversary of the founding of Notre Dame, December 9, 1967. This speech is titled, "The Vision of a Great Catholic University in the World of Today" (Hesburgh, 1967) and focused on the plans Father Hesburgh had in mind for the University, now that the new governing body had been established. In his comments preceding the speech, Father Hesburgh says that the talk is in many ways, "the most important talk I have ever written, since it deals with the heart of all of our efforts during these recent years, and hopefully, is a realistic blueprint of what we hope to realize at Notre Dame, as a great Catholic university, in the years ahead" (1967, Foreward).

Ultimately, the speech results in describing how Notre Dame may serve as light to human minds seeking faith, a bridge connecting dissimilar worlds and perspectives with discourse, and a meeting place, like a house of intellect "as well as a house of civility and lively discussion in the cause of truth which unites us all in its quest and in its promise" (Hesburgh, 1967, p. 15). The speech is very poetic, especially with its use of metaphors, so that it has the feel of being a dream, presumably the same one Hesburgh has had in mind during the years preceding it.

What is more pertinent to this discussion are the words leading up to these end results Hesburgh has in mind, his qualification of how Notre Dame may serve as these ideals. He begins the speech by describing the changes in higher education that have occurred over time, and by depicting the current climate in which a Catholic university finds itself. He then mentions the words of numerous critics of Catholic universities, who like George Bernard Shaw, believe that a Catholic university is a contradiction in terms (Hesburgh, 1967, p. 5). In response, Hesburgh declares that a Catholic university must be, above all, a university, though this may make the Church uneasy at times, or else "the qualifiers qualify something, but not a university" (Hesburgh, 1967, p. 5).

To answer all the objectors who see the Catholic university as being a place that is not free, Hesburgh holds up the decision of the change to the new form of governance, the predominantly lay Board. He says, "the University of Notre Dame is a civil, non-profit, educational corporation, chartered by and operating under the civil law of the state of Indiana, totally directed by this largely lay Board of Trustees" (1967, p. 6). Then, in a particularly bold move that must have really inflamed critics who believed the transition

to be approximating secularization, he adds, "Our university might more properly be called a secular institution, but I would prefer not to thus characterize it, because the contemporary implications of secularism and secularization which would simply not apply in a professedly Catholic university" (1967, p. 6).

Again, several paragraphs later, he hammers in the idea of the University being separate from of the Church, saying, "under Notre Dame's present form of governance...the University is not the Church...It is not the Church teaching, but a place- the only place- in which Catholics and others, on the highest level of intellectual inquiry, seek out the relevance of the Christian message to all the problems and opportunities that face modern man and his complex world" (1967, p. 7). In hearing Father Hesburgh repeat this message in several different ways it is clear that he feels as though the change to the lay Board has now freed the University to reach heights it could never have achieved before, in an effort to unite people in a spirit of learning and working toward solving problems.

These words and sentiments mesh well with what the respondents believed to be true of Father Hesburgh and his vision for Notre Dame. One said that Father Hesburgh moved into the position of President of the University with the sole ambition of creating a great, Catholic university. Greeley (1966), just prior to the transition of the Board, expressed that it was the bond between Catholic colleges and universities and the religious community that served as the biggest obstacle to improvement in Catholic higher education. Another respondent explained that the change opened up the possibility of a lot more change and growth than what had previously been possible. He explained that, when the University was owned by the Congregation of the Holy Cross, building a

library at a cost of 14 million dollars would have aroused a lot of concern: "What if we hit a depression? Will the community be liable? Could it go bankrupt? With the separate corporation, as long as the trustees are willing, you can expand and grow much more seriously and rapidly."

The idea of growth and expansion also relates to the depth of knowledge and skills that the lay Board members brought to the table. As a respondent explained, people like O. Meredith Wilson, who had been the president of the University of Oregon and the University of Minnesota, George Shuster, from Hunter College, Thomas Carney, an excellent scientist, Richard Shinn, chairman of Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, and Jay Rockefeller, West Virginia's Secretary of State, all were among the bright minds contributing toward decision-making on this new Board. So, as the respondent said, when there was a decision to be made, "he [Father Hesburgh] was quite confident he had heard views on all sides, and, once the Board came together and decided this was the way to go, you could be quite confident this was going to be a success. You had some wonderful minds working at it."

When interviewed in May, 2009 about how the lay Board decision advanced his vision of a stronger, better University of Notre Dame, Hesburgh cut to the bottom line and said this:

I can probably give it to you in dollars and cents which may say something. When I became President, we had a budget of 6 million dollars a year. Today our budget is over a billion dollars a year, which is quite a jump...We had an endowment, when I became President, of 7 million dollars a year, and they've been working on it since World War 1.

Today our endowment, before this latest crash, was 7 billion dollars, (Jaschik (2008) reports the endowment as about 6 billion in 2007) a thousand times jump, and that says something. I'm very happy for the changes; it's been successful. You can't just put it in dollars and cents, there are certainly many other criteria you could bring into it, but the dollars and cents certainly illustrate the jump that's been done under lay control. And today, if someone were to replace the President, it's the laity who says who it's going to be.

Change Theory

Baldrige's conclusions. The third subsidiary research question corresponds with one of Baldrige's conclusions regarding change: Change yields a complex interaction effect with many subtle changes in relationships.

In this case, because the change to the predominantly lay Board involved such a transfer of power from one group to another, the changes in relationships that were yielded were not so subtle. In terms of change yielding a complex interaction effect, one could say that the change in governance led to conditions that changed the trajectory of the University. As respondents noted, the change opened Notre Dame up to the possibility of a lot more rapid growth and development, in terms of building, raising money, and raising the prestige of the University.

Radical change. In the literature review of this paper, it was noted by Morgan (1986) there are three main consequences of radical change: a new ideology develops, a particular group's interests are better served, and power relationships change. These

consequences overlap with a couple of the conclusions Baldrige (1971) proposed regarding changes at universities. Certainly, the change in governance resulted in Hesburgh's intended goal of shifting power from the Church hierarchy to the predominantly lay people of the newly established Board. This change meshed well with Hesburgh's interest in advancing the involvement of the laity in the life of the Church, his openness toward change itself, and his goal of making Notre Dame a great, Catholic university.

Chapter V

CONCLUSION

The Research Question

Taking a close look at how Father Theodore M. Hesburgh, president of the University of Notre Dame from 1952-1987, evaluated the decision to change the governing board of Notre Dame from a clerical board to a predominantly lay Board of Trustees is a worthy focus of study for several reasons. Being a Holy Cross priest himself, Hesburgh was in community with fellow priests who had presided over the University for more than a century and was well aware of the benefits the community enjoyed in being at the helm of the governing board. On the other hand, Hesburgh strongly believed that lay people needed to be more closely involved in the life of the Church, and the running of Church institutions for both philosophical and practical reasons. In his autobiography Hesburgh highlights the turning over to lay control as the greatest change made during his administration (Hesburgh, 1990). Since Hesburgh was a president and Holy Cross priest with a reputation for possessing keen analytical skills, the deliberation that went to figuring out what to do about the make up of the Board of Trustees is an intriguing focus of study.

In addition, the decision was steeped in controversy but also cooperation among various groups of stakeholders. In 1967, when the shift was made, there was an unprecedented climate of cooperation and a highly developed network of communication among presidents at Catholic colleges and universities (Gallin, 1996). On the other hand,

the decision involved stripping power from the Holy Cross priests, who had governed Notre Dame since it received its charter in 1844 (O'Brien, 1998) and some of the priests had heavy hearts in the surrender. Even today, some people still disagree with Hesburgh's position in removing power from the clerics and handing it over to the laity, believing it led to secularizing Catholic institutions (McIntire, 2008).

Finally, the shift in governance was indicative of the need for a more functional approach to running the University than the traditional relationship that existed between religious orders and colleges (Greeley, 1967), and the change in governance dramatically altered the trajectory of the University in many ways. So the main research question was: How did Father Theodore Hesburgh evaluate the need for the governing structure of the University of Notre Dame to be changed from a clerical Board to a predominantly lay Board of Trustees?

Not only were the pragmatic pressures and stresses of the time that influenced the decision of interest, but factors related to Hesburgh's personal philosophical viewpoints that had developed over a longer period of time as well as what he envisioned for Notre Dame's future were also targets for analysis. So three subsidiary questions that address the influence of the past, present, and future are:

Subsidiary Questions

1. What underlying philosophical/ideological perspectives weighed in his decision to pursue the establishment of a predominantly lay board of trustees?
2. What were the pragmatic pressures and considerations he was grappling with at the time?

3. What consequences did he anticipate for the future of Notre Dame and its members?

Methodology

The methodology of the study relied on analysis of three written/spoken works, four interviews, and related literature. The three pieces analyzed were Hesburgh's 1946 doctoral dissertation titled "The relation of the sacramental characters of Baptism and Confirmation to the Lay Apostolate", "Change and the Changeless," a speech delivered by Hesburgh in 1961, and "The Vision of a Great Catholic University in the World Today" delivered on December 9, 1967 right after the transition to the predominantly lay Board was affirmed. Interviews were conducted with Father Hesburgh, as well as with three former professors, board members and administrators who served as stakeholders in the transition and who know Hesburgh well. The interviews were semi-structured in nature, allowing for probing and follow-up questions. They were recorded and transcribed. Additionally, information obtained in the interviews was weighed against and supplemented by existing research literature, to frame and develop the robustness of the findings.

The political model was the theoretical framework selected, and special attention was paid to consider how the change in Notre Dame's governance, under the leadership of Father Hesburgh reflected the six conclusions regarding university change articulated by Baldrige (1971). As the concept of "radical change" was also encountered in

reviewing literature related to governance change, this concept was also explored and evaluated in relation to the transition.

Limitations of the Methodology

This study relied on recollections from the past. Though care was taken to substantiate claims with established literature at every possible opportunity, there may still remain errors in such memories. Also, only three people, beside the subject, provided points of view. This was due to the age of the subject as well as the requirements that those interviewed know the subject well and worked with him closely in the years surrounding the change to the predominantly lay Board. Additional perspectives would have been beneficial.

Summary of the Results

There were a variety of factors at play as Father Theodore Hesburgh evaluated the need for the University of Notre Dame's change in governance to a predominantly lay Board of Trustees. His philosophical ideas, pragmatic considerations and pressures of the time, and consequences he anticipated for the future of Notre Dame all influenced the decision and are described below. The summaries are broken down according to the three subsidiary research questions and the major themes that emerged in examining each of them. Following each major section is a concluding section which summarizes what this study contributes to the existing research literature.

Philosophical ideas

Change

The “Change and the Changeless” speech delivered by Hesburgh in 1961 as the winter convocation address at the University of Chicago as well as perspectives of the interviewees support the position that Father Hesburgh has sustained a long interest in the topic of change as well as a long-standing appreciation for its importance in the world, especially the world of education. Rather than being reckless with the notion of change, he has shown evidence of supporting change that is in line with values and is carried out with planning and evaluation. In chapter two McIntire (2008) was named as an opponent to lay control as he expressed repeated discontent that Hesburgh “accepted modernism instead of challenging it, as the Church has historically done” (pg. 4). Based on the interviews and analysis of the written works of Hesburgh, it would be more fitting to say that Hesburgh accepted change as a natural direction toward progress, once he became convinced that it meshed with his values and served the greater good.

The literature review also revealed that Hesburgh, in the past, expressed some initial reluctance about the change, and there were three reasons for this: a) the preservation of the Catholicity of Notre Dame b) the preservation of the role of the community in the university c) the difficulty of working out the financial relationships between the University and the community (Gallin, 1996). In this study no sentiment of Hesburgh’s reluctance ever came to the surface. Perhaps Gallin, a religious sister, was better able to tap into that emotional component of Hesburgh’s decision.

Role of the Catholic Laity

In conclusions drawn in Hesburgh’s doctoral dissertation titled *The Relation of the Sacramental Characters of Baptism and Confirmation to the Lay Apostolate* (Hesburgh,

1946) (renamed *The Theology of Catholic Action* in book form) (Hesburgh, 1946), one sees hints of Hesburgh's determination to bring lay people into a more active role in participating, governing, and teaching in those spheres that relate to the Catholic Church.

Respondents also said Hesburgh believed strongly that the strength of the Church of the future resided in the laity and highlighted several occasions during which Hesburgh encountered various Church hierarchy-related stumbling blocks, as he endeavored to research the perspective of the laity, advocated on the side of academic freedom, and opposed perceived autocracy.

Gallin (1996) and Gleason (1995) both named the need for lay involvement as the University grew and Vatican II's theology of the laity as key factors to Hesburgh's support for the transition. This study traces Hesburgh's support for the theology of the laity back to his doctoral thesis, written in 1946. In his interview, in May 2009, Hesburgh expressed that Vatican II might have focused on the theology of the laity because of his research. Hesburgh stated that he was required to send two copies of his dissertation to Rome, and four years later, when the statement on the laity emerged from the Vatican II conference, the text was "right from my thesis, and I didn't even get a footnote. But then that's OK; I'm just glad now it's part of the doctrine of the Church."

Catholic Intellectual Life

A researcher named Father John O'Brien, at the University of Illinois, a person whom Father Hesburgh knew well, published in *Catholics and Scholarship: A symposium on the development of scholars* (1939) and indicated that Catholics had very poor faculty representation and state colleges and universities. John Tracey Ellis, someone with whom Father Hesburgh was also familiar, published a very influential article, "American

Catholics and the Intellectual Life” (Ellis, 1955), a critique of Catholic intellectual life. Discussion of these works extended to the Second Vatican Council.

On Notre Dame's campus, in the first half of the twentieth century, notable achievements were being made, but Notre Dame was critiqued for being a "football factory," where academics were not taken very seriously, due in large part to the celebrity of football coach Frank Leahy who stopped at nothing to try to secure victories for the team (O'Brien, 1998). Father Hesburgh wanted academics to take priority at Notre Dame, and to change the image of the university into more than a football powerhouse (Johnson, 1987). Another force at play was the belief that educational institutions had a public contribution to make, and Hesburgh believed the Board could serve as an expression of community, diversity, and shared decision-making.

Conclusions Related to Philosophical Ideas

As evidenced in the findings chapter and the summary above, this study explains, more than any research before, that Hesburgh's philosophical ideas on the role of laity and change laid the groundwork for his support for lay control. Also, where other researchers have traced the theology of the laity primarily to Vatican II documents, this study suggests that Hesburgh's own doctoral dissertation preceded the documents and may have been the springboard for Vatican II documents on the topic. Another new contribution to the literature is the close examination of the influence of O'Brien's work and how Hesburgh's notion of public contributions advancing democracy also may have factored into his support of the change in governance.

Pragmatic Considerations and Pressures

Collaboration Toward Radical Change

Although Father Hesburgh was the dominant figure in the shift, it is clear that the change could not have been accomplished without securing collaborators in order for Hesburgh to receive necessary permissions, technical assistance, and personal counsel. All respondents pointed out the opposition that was encountered in the shift. One respondent expressed a statement that all other respondents seemed to indicate: "There were people opposed to it in the order and in the faculty: people afraid of change and how they would be affected by the change."

Greeley noted in his study in 1967 that there was a widespread sentiment, especially among the younger members of the clergy, that it was time to shift the power to lay control. In this study, a respondent shared a different perspective that there were Holy Cross priests who were looking for other compromises, such as to give control to a Board of Trustees, but keep ownership of all the property. So, some Holy Cross priests, although open to a change, were hoping against a complete "lock, stock, and barrel" transfer of power. On the other hand, other respondents shared that the shift was radical, but there was no other choice and another said that it was just the next logical step for the University.

Catholic Identity

Hesburgh knew that a primary concern would be maintaining the religious character of Notre Dame. Respondents noted, and related research affirms that, although a great deal of power was entrusted to the predominantly lay Board, there was also care

given to the preservation of the Catholic character of the University as the structure and functioning of the predominantly lay Board was being established.

In Chapter II, reference is made to Hutchison (2001) describing Hesburgh's partnership with Jesuit Father Paul Reinert of Saint Louis University in devising the plans for the change in governance, envisioning a partnership between the clergy and laity. Such a partnership is reminiscent of Hesburgh's (1946) "The Theology of Catholic Action" in which he discusses the spiritual necessity for the Church hierarchy, who mediates ministerially, "teaching, governing, and sanctifying by the fullness of its power and authority" (p.187) to work in conjunction with the laity who mediates dispositively, "forming a link between the hierarchy and a secularized world...thus extending the hierarchy's sphere of influence" (p. 188). In asserting different roles, the laity and the hierarchy could work together.

Hutchinson (2001) also said that, instead of weakening the Catholic identity, the transition may have sparked the need for Catholic university presidents to be more purposeful and specific in outlining Catholic identity. As the findings chapter describes, the establishment of the Board of Fellows and the provision declaring that Notre Dame presidents shall be Holy Cross priests were created to guarantee Catholicity. But also, as Hesburgh (1990) has said, "...Since the transfer, personally, I think we are more Catholic today than we were in the past, both big C and little c" (p. 175). So, just as important to Hesburgh as maintaining the traditional idea of a Catholic university was the goal of creating a university that had catholic or universal appeal.

Financial Success of the University

Several stressors influenced the threat to fundraising at an institution like Notre Dame in the years surrounding the Board transition: the reality of the priests not having been trained for fundraising, a steep decline in religious vocations, and cases and studies indicating that Catholic colleges were intimately connected to religious communities and should therefore be ineligible for government aid. A major University fundraising drive under Father James Burns (1919-1922) highlighted the need for a lay advisory board, and the competence and generosity of such lay members reinforced Hesburgh's belief that a predominantly lay Board was in the best interest of Notre Dame.

Conclusions Related to Pragmatic Consideration and Pressures

The findings and conclusions drawn from this section largely corroborate the existing literature on the immediate climate and circumstances influencing Hesburgh as he considered the move to lay control. The key collaborators, the process of securing the Catholicity of the University, and the strains such as declining numbers of clerics as well as a need for administrators with a keen eye for university development all mesh with what past researchers have found. The new contribution is the perspective of characterizing the board transition as a "radical change." Also, this study takes a closer look than previous research on the precedent of Father James Burns who was president of Notre Dame from 1919-1922 and demonstrated the need for lay leadership in fundraising for the University. Finally, the findings elaborate on some of the feelings of loss and reluctance among the Holy Cross priests to a greater extent than previous literature.

Consequences for the Future

Changes in Power Relationships

Lay people were clear victors in the transition to the predominantly lay Board. Its establishment had implications for the University President, limiting his power but also taking some pressure off of him with shared decision-making. With such a team in tact, Hesburgh could perhaps work more effectively to do what was expressed by Greeley (1967) as the most critical role of college president to play: rapidly improving higher education institutions, both in setting goals and meeting them.

The power of the Church hierarchy was greatly reduced, and it led to a pervasive sense of loss but not resentment among the Holy Cross community.

An analysis of the dynamics of power in relationships is described in detail in the section below pertaining to the theoretical framework of the study.

Changes in the Trajectory of the University

Hesburgh's address at the Special Convocation commemorating the 125th Anniversary of the founding of Notre Dame, December 9, 1967, titled, "The Vision of a Great Catholic University in the World of Today" focused on the plans Father Hesburgh had in mind for the University, with the new governing body established. In the speech it is clear that Hesburgh feels as though the change to the lay Board has freed the University to reach heights it could never have achieved before, in an effort to unite people in a spirit of learning and working toward solving problems. Or, in the words of Gallin (1996) mentioned in the literature review, the transition was a partial fulfillment of what Hesburgh had envisioned Notre Dame to be, "a strengthened Catholic university at the service of the church and society" (p. 67).

Respondents and related literature affirm that growth and expansion describe what the university has been able to do in terms of development and finances since the Board change. Not only did the budget and endowment skyrocket in Hesburgh's tenure, but Johnson (1987) adds that enrollment doubled, faculty tripled, the library went from 250,000 books to 1.6 million books, and the notion of academic freedom was broadened at Notre Dame.

In addition, the lay Board members brought a depth of knowledge and skills to the table that had previously been unmatched. With a variety of educators, business people, politicians, and even clergy members at the table, the University has been able to benefit from diverse perspectives, generous giving, and novel ideas for its future success.

Conclusions Related to Consequences for the Future

This study, because findings and conclusions are held up against Baldrige's theory related to the political model, considers for the first time the consequences of power loss and power gain in the shift to the Board having lay control. Also, the findings confirm that the change to the predominantly lay Board was intimately tied to Hesburgh's ambition to make Notre Dame a great, Catholic University. This study examines, for the first time, the speech, "The Vision of a Great Catholic University in the World of Today" that well summarizes the extent of the dream that Hesburgh held for Notre Dame's future with the change in governance secured.

Discussion of the Results within the Theoretical Framework

Findings are compared against Baldrige's (1971) conclusions regarding university change as well as the concept of "radical change".

Baldrige's Conclusions

1) Within the university's pluralistic social structure various subcultures struggle to implement values, but often this can only be done at the expense of other groups.

Baldrige (1971) explains that though many people favor radical changes just as many are threatened by such moves. This is the very sentiment that was expressed by the respondent that said, "'There were people opposed to it in the order and in the faculty: people afraid of change and how they would be affected by the change." Advancing the decision-making power and leadership role of the laity came at the expense of the clergy. The clergy lost control over Notre Dame and the predominantly lay Board gained it. As Baldrige (1971) explains, it is the pluralism of the social structure that ensures changes will affect subcultures differently, and this provokes political conflict.

There was a struggle to implement values among the groups. Father Hesburgh, in arguing for lay control, valued the laity's standing as people fully immersed in the world, their active involvement and participation in the life of the Church. The Church hierarchy, on the other hand, prioritized what they had to offer with their expertise as trained leaders of the Church. Hesburgh also valued change and his affinity for change was also a value that contributed toward the ultimate decision. These dynamics all fit very well within Baldrige's (1971) definition of radical change as arising when there is an impasse

between two perspectives or ideologies and so a short period of revolutionary change erupts.

2) External factors are often the most important impetus for organizational change, as the social context molds and shapes options that are available.

Baldrige (1971) states “Institutional changes are seldom made in a vacuum, for the social context molds and shapes options that are available” (pg. 58). It is true that external factors, such as the *Horace Mann* (1966) and *Tilton* (1971) cases and The Perkins study (1966) may well have influenced Father Hesburgh's decision. On the other hand, there is a very strong internal impetus for change present in this decision. Not only the philosophical stances held by Father Hesburgh regarding the role of the laity and his affinity for change but also the dynamics occurring within the University, as the University sought to distinguish itself as a serious academic institution. In the words of one respondent, “Hesburgh moved in that position as president of the University with the sole ambition of creating a great Catholic university. There were none and yet the church was the foundation of most of the old beautiful institutions in Europe....and he just simply dedicated himself to it.”

3) Central administration takes the lead in planning and implementing changes.

Father Hesburgh meets this criterion to the extreme. There has perhaps never been a stronger example of this point in higher education history. His strong role is reminiscent of Eckel and Kezar (2003) promoting the idea of institutional leaders more actively “tak[ing] the reins of change” (pg. xi) and even Miner’s business model (1994) focus on

managers' roles in implementing radical change, saying the manager must know when to seek adaptive versus radical change and steer their employees in the favorable direction.

4) Change yields a complex interaction effect with many subtle changes in relationships.

Baldrige (1971) closely examined a case which involved a university undergoing a shift in power away from the individual schools constituting it and toward the central administration. Subtle changes were made over time and instigated by various groups as the changes took hold.

In this case, the change to the predominantly lay Board involved a one-time transfer of power from one group to another, instead of involving incremental changes over time, and the changes in relationships that were yielded were not so subtle. In terms of change yielding a complex interaction effect, one could say that the change in governance led to conditions that changed the trajectory of the University.

5) Change reflects a real power play in which proponents of change hold most of the cards over proponents of the status quo.

This point fits the change to the predominantly lay Board well. In a sense, Hesburgh's plan to advance the development of the University with the lay Board was the card he held over the status quo, and the status quo was a university that was less than ideal, as the University struggled for academic distinction.

Baldrige (1971) emphasizes with this point that the change results from a political battle; it is not just a merely collegial or bureaucratic decision. Though his language sounds dramatic, Baldrige is correct in pointing out that such a sweeping change

necessarily involves power gain and power loss, and there are intense dynamics of conflict involved. In this case, those who opposed the transfer of power to the lay Board struggled for power against those who supported it, and because of strong leadership by the central administration (described in point three above), external social conditions (described in point two above), and conditions internal to the University described immediately above), power shifted in the direction of those favoring the change.

6) A multitude of interest groups interact and overlap to try to influence the decision.

Baldrige (1971) describes interest groups as powerful groups on various sides fighting for privileges and favors. Though past dissertations have found evidence to support the effect of interest groups on high education decision making (Milone-Nuzzo, 1989; Wilson, 1987) this was not a central theme that was gained in collecting data.

Radical Change

Kezar (2005) explains that the political model can be used to conceptualize and understand radical changes in governance documented during the 1960's since "in no other time in history has the overall governance of colleges and universities gone through such a systemic change process related to governance" (pg. 639). Kezar (2005) acknowledges that some might not see new governance systems as radical change, but radical change is context based and socially constructed: it is relative to the context, to what the participants in the context have defined as the status quo, and how much of a departure the change is from their previous system.

In analyzing respondents' opinions against research literature, it seems as though the establishment of the predominantly lay Board fits Greenwood and Hinings (1996) definition of a radical change: the University broke from the tradition of clerical control over major decision-making and put in its place a governing structure of lay control, effectively removing power from the clergy's hands and placing it in the hands of the predominantly lay Board.

It was noted by Morgan (1986) there are three main consequences of radical change: a new ideology develops, a particular group's interests are better served, and power relationships change. These consequences overlap with a couple of the conclusions Baldrige (1971) proposed regarding changes at universities. Certainly, the change in governance resulted in Hesburgh's intended goal of shifting power from the clergy to the predominantly lay people of the newly established Board. This change meshed well with Hesburgh's interest in advancing the involvement of the laity in the life of the Church, his openness toward change itself, and his goal of making Notre Dame a great, Catholic university.

Suggestions for further research

Although there is consensus that Father Hesburgh was the most critical influence in the shift to the predominantly lay Board for Notre Dame, there are other participants in the change to lay control whose perspectives are worthy of study. For example, Father Paul Reinert, S.J., President of St. Louis University was obviously a close partner in this

change, as was Edmund Stephan, Chicago lawyer and legal advisor to Father Hesburgh, for example. Also, not all colleges and universities followed the path of transitioning their boards to lay control, and other studies could examine the rationale and trajectory of those institutions who decided against it. Finally, once Father Hesburgh's presidential papers become available in the middle of this century, adding the component of his personal correspondences and papers to this story would add to the robustness of this piece of history.

Conclusion

It is clear that Hesburgh's philosophical ideas, concern for pragmatic pressures, and his vision for the future of the University of Notre Dame all impacted his evaluation in deciding to shift the governing board of the University to a predominantly lay Board of Trustees. In particular, this study highlights how Hesburgh's personal philosophy regarding the idea of change and the role of the laity contributed to the decision. The dynamics that surround this transition mesh well with Baldrige's conclusions regarding university change (1971), leading to an analysis power loss and power gain among Hesburgh and other stakeholders, supplemented by a consideration of how well this change in governance fits the literature on "radical change."

Upon Larry Summer's resignation as president of Harvard, a higher education article mentioned, "presidents who want to speak out need to take a page out of the books who did so in earlier generations—people like Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh of the University of Notre Dame...while positions they took on integration and academic

freedom may not seem controversial today, they were hugely controversial when these presidents were speaking out, and they managed to do so without being accused of being rude” (Jaschik, 2006).

It is certainly no easy task to be a college president who seeks to create an institution of excellence by bringing about radical change. In addressing the charge that the University is less Catholic than it was before the transfer of Board's power, Hesburgh says this: "It is very important that we continue to have *independent* Catholic universities. They are the very places that do the most to advance Catholic thought and influence in this country. We have, and deserve to have, the respect of everyone who values academic freedom and commitment to the principles of reason seeking faith, and faith freely seeking a deeper understanding of all that faith means in our times” (Hesburgh, 1990, p. 175).

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Appendix A
Glossary of Terms

Predominantly lay Board of Trustees- According to the Bylaws of the University of Notre Dame, the Board of Trustees must consist of no fewer than 30 and no more than 60 Trustees. The majority are lay members: currently, there are 55 Board members, seven of whom are clerics.

Evaluate- The word “evaluate” is used here to mean weigh the factors of influence

Philosophical/Ideological- In this study the words are used interchangeably, as the dictionary recognizes them as synonyms. “Ideological” is the word more often used in reference to political models, whereas Hesburgh tends to use forms of the word “philosophical.”

Pragmatic pressures and considerations- The phrase is used to mean practical stresses and others factors related to the current state of functioning

Appendix B

Sample Interview Questions for Administrators/Faculty

- 1) What competing ideologies/philosophies were present at the table when the shift in governance was being considered?
- 2) How did Father Hesburgh's philosophies on the role of the laity and the purpose of higher education weigh into the decision?
- 3) How did Father Hesburgh generally view the idea of change?
- 4) Was Father Hesburgh the most central person in shifting the University toward lay control or were there other dominant figures moving the University in that direction?
- 5) Did Father Hesburgh and those around him see this shift as a radical change from the way things were, or more like a next logical step in adapting to the environment of Catholic higher education at the time?
- 6) Were there winners and losers in the shift of control from the clerical to the predominantly lay Board?
- 7) How did the decision render some people more powerful and others less powerful?
- 8) How did the transition advance Father Hesburgh's vision of a stronger, better University of Notre Dame?

Appendix C

Sample Interview Questions for Father Hesburgh

- 1) What competing ideologies/philosophies were present at the table when the shift in governance was being considered?
- 2) How did your philosophies on the role of the laity and the purpose of higher education weigh into the decision?
- 3) How do you generally view the idea of change?
- 4) Were you the most central person in shifting the University toward lay control or were there other dominant figures moving the University in that direction?
- 5) Did you and those around you see this shift as a radical change from the way things were, or more like a next logical step in adapting to the environment of Catholic higher education at the time?
- 6) Were there winners and losers in the shift of control from the clerical to the predominantly lay Board?
- 7) How did the decision render some people more powerful and others less powerful?
- 8) How did the transition advance your vision of a stronger, better University of Notre Dame?

Appendix D

Table Linking Research Questions to Interview Questions and Baldrige's Conclusions

Research Questions	Items / questions #s in interview instrument	Baldrige's six conclusions regarding change
Philosophy & ideology	1,2,3	1,5
Pragmatic considerations	4,5	2,3,6
Consequences	6,7,8	4

Appendix E
Interview Transcripts

Note: Respondents' words are in italics, interviewer's words are in plain text

Interview 1

In the long history of the Church, the lay people were not really, I thought, given enough attention, even theologically. So, when I was sent out to get a doctorate in theology, and to write a thesis, I went before the doctors in the department, all the professors, and they said to me, "What do you want to do your doctoral thesis about?"

And I said, "I want to write a thesis on the theology of the laity."

And they said, "That's not a serious subject."

And I said, "Gentlemen, the laity happen to be about 99.9% of the Catholic Church. One tenth of one percent are clergy."

You read all kinds of books about them and about the theology of the priesthood, the theology of the clergy and parish theology, and everything else. I said that, as far as I know there's practically nothing written on the theology of the laity, and if you tell me the theology of 99.9% of the people in the Church isn't a serious subject, I think you guys ought to do something else for a living.

And they said, "Well, we don't agree with you, but if you want to do the thesis, do it."

*So I wrote a thesis which I entitled *The Theology of the Laity or The Theology of Catholic Action*, which is what the laity do. In the Church, the closest it came to getting the laity officially involved was to set up in the 20s and 30s something called "Catholic Action." And it was defined as the participation of the laity in the apostolate of the hierarchy, how they're going to help the clergy and the bishops and priests do the work of running the Church.*

And I said, "I think that's wrong, I think the laity ought to have a theology of their own. They shouldn't just participate in what the bishops and priests are doing. I think they ought to have their own; that's the way I would define it, not the participation of the laity in the apostolate hierarchy, but the participation of the laity in the priesthood of Christ in their own apostolate, as lay people, as married people, as parents. There are many things the laity do."

So, they kind of growled, but I went ahead and wrote the thesis, and I got it published under the title, "The Theology of Catholic Action" and I made that point: that the laity have standing in their own right. You had to give 330 copies to the theology department, and they sold it at the Catholic University bookstore, so that's how they got a little money out of you. Curiously, they disappeared in a few weeks. But I published another 1800 copies, and they were sold quickly.

Didn't I read that you worked on it for 5 months straight, taking only a few hours off on

Christmas?

That's right. I took a few hours at Christmas and went right on through because I wanted, at that time, to be a chaplain in the Navy, and the war was on, and they told me I had to get the doctorate. Once I had the doctorate, instead of letting me join the Navy, they put me back in the classroom. But that's OK, anyway, it worked out all right. Once the war was over, I got the doctorate at the end of June, the war was over in August, so I would have made a mistake. Anyway, getting back to the laity... When I published the thesis, I got a call from the Apostolic Delegate, he was called in those days, in Washington. He was the Pope's representative to the Catholic Church of America; happened to be a guy named Amleto Cicognani who later became who later became the Secretary to the Vatican, Secretary of State.

I'm interested in the change of governance to the predominantly lay Board of Trustees, and my first question is "What competing ideologies or philosophies were present at the table when the change in governance was being considered?"

Well, as I told you I did my doctoral thesis on the place of the lay man in the Church, and I said the laity ought to be given the authority to do their work as laity. Now, they had said at that time with Catholic Action, it's the participation of the laity in the apostolate of the hierarchy.

I said, "No, it's the participation of the laity in the apostolate of the laity which is different than the hierarchy. They are in the world, they see this thing day by day in their various roles as professional people, teachers, doctors, lawyers, fathers, mothers, all the rest. So they have a special charism, which means a gift, they have a special gift from God as lay people, and I say that, by the sacrament of baptism and confirmation, they are conformed of the figure of Christ in their souls, and they are given the power to bring Christ not only internally into their own lives, but externally to others".

That's called the lay apostolate, not the participation of the bishops' apostolate, but the lay apostolate. And that's something they have through the sacrament of baptism and confirmation character, the indelible character on their souls. So I said we ought to not say their task in life is to work for somebody else, but God gives them their own apostolate which is special in marriage and family in education and so many roles where they are the only ones there. There are no bishops there, there are only these lay people. So I said we should give them a special place in the Church and say it's their apostolate, not participating in someone else's.

That was revolutionary at the time, but today, I think, when they had Vatican 2, at the end of the conference, four years of decisions, they came out with a statement on the laity, and you know what? It was stolen lock, stock, and barrel right out of my doctoral thesis four years before. Those two copies I sent to Rome, I don't know who got them or what they did with them... By golly, when I read that I said, "That's right from my thesis, and I didn't even get a footnote." But then that's okay, I'm just glad that now it's part of the doctrine of the Church.

How do you generally view the idea of change?

Well, I think life is essentially a changing proposition. When we're born, we're helpless, but as we begin to mature, we learn how to think and decide and work and become qualified for all kinds of different roles, and change is the definition of life: we're certainly greatly changed from the time we are born until the time we die. And I don't look for a lot of change in my life because I'm coming up on 92 next week, but I've had a lot of change in my life, and I hope it's been for the better because you develop and you get a new perception of the things you can do. And certainly for the laity, it's an enormous change for getting educated. Thank God for Notre Dame, you get a fine Christian education, and you go out into the world and you do things only lay people can do, like having families and all the rest.

Were you the most central person in the change to the predominantly lay Board or were there other dominant figures?

No, I'm going to say I was pretty much on my own. And when I put it forth, the order, this was in January, a cold winter that year, and they had a week-long meeting and they argued whether the university owned Notre Dame and had complete control of it through the community. I said what we should do is give it lock, stock, and barrel to a lay board which I had created and let them be the people who own and operate the University, and we will serve them as adjuncts, as priests; those two things we can do. And, at first some of the older guys thought that was heresy, but, at the end of the week-long meeting they took a vote and it came out that out of the 45 delegates, they were called a provincial council, 39 to make the move and 6 against it. And so I was working with Paul Reinert, the president of St. Louis, and he and I collaborated. In the month of May, we were the first two universities to declare that the laity on our boards were going to have full authority as trustees of this institution. And since that day every Jesuit institution, practically all the hospitals, all the work with a lot of laity have taken that move and it was a watermark in the Church in America, in the world. It came through that one move, and Paul Reinert and I were the two guys that started it in May of that year.

Did you see this change as a radical change from the way things were or more like the next logical step in adapting to the environment?

I thought it was radical because it took it from the clergy. In a sense, we owned and operated it, and said we take our ownership and our leadership and give it to the laity and say we will work with you and for you. But if anyone owns Notre Dame it's the lay Board of Trustees and they make the decisions. They even elect the President.

How did this decision render some people more powerful and others less powerful? Who felt as though they were winners and losers?

I think, as I tried to put it out, and I think as most people accepted it, it was a step forward in the evolution of the Church. The Council, for the first time, they came out with

a declaration on the laity, which I said was lock, stock, and barrel right out of my doctoral thesis. And it said for all time that the laity are not just worker bees in the Church, they're part of the Church, and they actually have control of great Church institutions, among those the greatest are colleges, universities, hospitals, and great social works.

One final question: this is kind of a summary question...How did the transition advance your vision of a stronger, better university of Notre Dame?

I can probably give it to you in dollars and cents which may say something. When I became President we had a budget of 6 million dollars a year. Today our budget is over a billion dollars a year, which is quite a jump. Our endowment, which is the heart of it all...You take the 20 highest endowments, and you've got roughly the twenty best universities beginning with Harvard. We had an endowment, when I became President, of 7 million dollars a year, and they've been working on it since World War I. Today, our endowment, before this latest crash, was 7 billion dollars, a thousand times jump, and that says something. I'm very happy for the changes, it's been successful. You can't just put it in dollars and cents, there are many other criteria you could bring into that, but the dollars and cents certainly illustrate the jump that's been done under lay control. And today, if someone were to replace the President, it's the laity who says who it's going to be.

The topic of my dissertation is Father Hesburgh and how he evaluated the decision to change Notre Dame over to a predominantly lay Board of Trustees.

A lot of attention has gone to what was going on in the climate of Catholic higher education at the time the decision was made. I'm also concerned with how Father Hesburgh's philosophies on change, the role of the laity, and just how he approached the whole idea of making progress, making Notre Dame a "great university" weighed into the decision too. I guess I'm just trying to take more of a broad look at it and what some other motivations might have been that influenced the decision. So my first question is what competing ideologies or philosophies were present at the table when the shift in governance was being considered?

That's a good one. Most colleges before that were, in a way, owned and operated by religious communities, just like the congregation of the Holy Cross that founded Notre Dame, and we controlled it completely. As it got bigger and bigger and educational standards advanced more and more, I suppose there was a question that you need a broader input into things in the university.

Also, Father Hesburgh, when he got his doctoral degree at Catholic University in the early 1940s, did his doctoral dissertation on what he calls the position of the laity in the Church. I don't know if you read it or not...

I have...

He did it on the Sacrament of Confirmation, that 98% of Catholics are laymen and women and should have a bigger part in the Church. They are the Church, as a matter of fact. And certainly he felt that education was one area where they could do that. They can't hear Confessions and they can't say Mass, but certainly they could run educational institutions and things like that. So the laity should have a bigger part in Catholic universities.

I think at that time also there was the view that every university, even a Catholic university, does have a public contribution to make. Universities are educating young men and women for citizenship in a great country like the United States, a democratic country, and therefore there should be some kind of public influence into the university to train them for the public responsibility they are going to have.

Here at Notre Dame we do have advisory boards for all the colleges: Arts and Letters, Science, Engineering, Business, and Law; each one of those has an Advisory Board that meets at least once a year, sometimes twice a year. In the College of Science, there are probably 40 people on that Advisory Board, maybe half of them are Notre Dame graduates, half not Notre Dame graduates; some would be researchers, some would be doctors. They come every year and look over our science program and make a recommendation to the Dean and to the President on how they view (as outsiders) the Notre Dame science program: whether we are really training people well, whether they think our graduates are going to be expert enough in computers and things, where science is going in direction now, and we are going into nanotechnology, and can you do

that? So we have those advisory boards to try to help the university to get its education geared to what the world demands.

So, in an analogous way I suppose you could say the Board of Trustees does that also. You bring in these important people who come from government and art and sciences and education and public life, and they come and advise the President and the deans, giving some kind of public input into how the University is training people for life.

You know, if you're invited to be a member of the Board of Trustees, you're taking on some sort of responsibility also and taking on fiduciary responsibility. You're being commissioned or you're being trusted to concentrate on the betterment of the university. For example, every year they send you a legal document asking you whether there is any conflict in your life with the University. If I was a business person, a CEO of US Steel, does Notre Dame have any business with US Steel? The idea is that your primary responsibility as a trustee is to this university and to make it better, and one of the things might also be to donate money to the University if possible on occasion. I suppose that is what a Board of Trustees does.

Back in 1967 a major concern was going to be the Catholic character of the University. When Holy Cross ran it completely (theoretically there was a Board of Trustees but they were 6 Holy Cross priests), you were sure that was going to maintain the Catholic character. One of the debates was, one of the concerns was, how are we going to make sure we maintain the Catholic character? So there were these ideas or theories that were being discussed at that particular time, and setting up the Board of Trustees and the Board of Fellows was a way of trying to accomplish all of these things: you're going to get more of that outside input into the university, you're going to get more lay influence into the university (although not all Trustees have to be Catholic obviously), and you were going to, especially with that Board of Fellows, preserve the Catholic character of the University. With that Board of Fellows, there are twelve, and there had to be six priests, and there has to be a 2/3 vote.

OK. I think you pretty much answered this but how did Father Hesburgh's views on the laity and the purpose of higher education weigh into the decision?

Yes, I think after Vatican 2, with its emphasis on the laity and things like this...

Let me think for a minute about something else: whether at this particular period some of the student unrest had something to do with it also because at this time there was a lot of student unrest on campus. Columbia University, where I studied for my doctorate, was occupied. My degree is dated July 2nd 1968 because I finished everything in April, and I could have graduated in June, but I didn't want to leave my dissertation there when students were burning things down. I waited until all the students left and then I took it out because theoretically, everyone joked, Columbia awarded degrees every day but Christmas. So I just took mine out with four copies and went to the bursar and got a certificate and went to the dean and got his signature. So my degree is dated July 2nd because of the campus unrest. So I think maybe Father Hesburgh also felt comfortable

with a Board of Trustees behind him so that if he made a decision and it was protested, then he could always refer to a Board of Trustees and let them make that final decision. That would certainly give a wider view of the decision and also take a little bit of heat off of him. So if there was a question of whether we should have co-ed dorms or something, I'll just bring that to the Trustees and let them decide. It takes a little pressure off of me (Hesburgh). So that might have something to do with it too.

That's interesting. No one's brought that up before.

It does just take a little bit of pressure off the President to have a Board of Trustees...

Ok, great. How does Father Hesburgh, or specifically, how did he at that time, view the idea of change? I thought of one of his speeches that I read, "Change and the Changeless", and it made me think that maybe he thinks about change a lot, and I wondered if he thought about it a lot while he was going through this process...

That's a good question. I think Father Hesburgh is very comfortable with change. I think he feels that growth and change are synonymous and therefore any university that is going to continue to grow and get better is going to change, and so you have to be comfortable with change. And every change is a risk of taking a wrong turn, but I think he is very comfortable with that. Other people are very content with the way things are, but Father Ted is very comfortable with keeping to change and getting better all the time, even if this is going to be taking risks. You know, do we want to start a new program here? Yeah, let's start one; programs are doing well, but let's start one. Any university that's going to get better has got to change, and so you realize you are going to make some bad decisions: you might bring in this new dean who might not be any good, but then you're going to do something else. But I think Father Ted is not someone who plays it safe, he's very comfortable with change, taking a risk. Of course, by that time, by 1967, he had already been president for 15 years, and so he had a lot of experience, so I don't know if he was this way back in 1952, he may have been more conservative. I think he's just one of those guys who realizes that change is necessary for growth and therefore if you are committed to new ideas, then he's willing to go along with it and try them out, and if it doesn't work, then change again. I think he's very comfortable with taking a risk like that and changing where other people think "don't fix it if it ain't broken." Father Ted is always willing to fix it and make it better.

Was Father Hesburgh the most central person in shifting the University to lay control or were there other dominant figures moving the University in that direction?

Father Ted was the dominant figure. Father Ted was the dominant figure, but remember that the Congregation of the Holy Cross founded and, in a sense, owned it. Father Hesburgh was President of it, but the Congregation of the Holy Cross and the Provincial Superior of the Indiana Province really owned it. So they had to get that permission to change ownership. They're the ones who had to alienate the property, they called it. Now, Canon Law also says you need the Vatican's approval for the transfer of property. I think St. Louis University, ten years ago now maybe, when they wanted to sell their

medical school, saw the Vatican step in and see if they could because it is a Catholic university and that property belongs to the Catholic Church. So we had to have a General Chapter of the whole community, a chapter is a meeting of the elected delegates. They get together every three years and they make laws for the community, approve budgets, things like that. And the General Chapter is of the whole community: India, Pakistan, Africa, Chile, delegates from all over coming together every six years. But they had a special chapter in 1967 and it was to approve this setting up of a Board of Trustees because in a sense we were alienating the property that belonged entirely to the Congregation of Holy Cross, and now it was going to be under a lay Board of Trustees. The Provincial Superior was an important person in there, and the Superior General, Father Leland, was too. But it was Father Hesburgh's idea, and he was pushing it, and he convinced everyone else also. He clearly was the dominant person. But the bottom line was that a couple of other people had to sign on also.

There was a lawyer at that time, Ed Stephan, who would be the first chairman of the Board of Trustees. He and Father Ted were very close friends, and Stephan was a senior partner in one of the biggest law firms in Chicago at that time, and a Notre Dame graduate, and so he worked very closely with Father Hesburgh when they drafted the Statutes and the Constitutions. And I think he went to Rome with Father Hesburgh when he explained the idea. When we had the meetings in Corby Hall about this, Ed Stephan was right there and he explained the legal aspects and was there to answer all these questions. But Father Hesburgh was clearly the dominant person.

Alright. Did Father Hesburgh and those around him see this as a radical change from the way things were or was it more like the next logical step in adapting to the environment of catholic higher education at the time?

I think he saw it as a radical step. Certainly a lot of people in the Congregation of Holy Cross saw it as a radical step because we were losing control of Notre Dame. In our discussions, there was opposition to it and things like this.

Were you in administration at this time? I'm trying to think...

No. I had just come back to Notre Dame in 1966 after finishing my dissertation and was assistant rector of Zahm Hall. In 1968 I began teaching. I was here at this time, so I was involved in the meetings we had, and Father Hesburgh explained things to us, hearing peoples' replies pro and con. I was new at the place, the new kid on the block, so I don't think I said a word, maybe didn't understand all of the other things going on. But there were certainly Holy Cross priests who were looking for other compromises, maybe give control to a Board of Trustees, but let's keep ownership of all the property here, so to keep something ourselves, and not give everything to a Board of Trustees, lock, stock, and barrel. There were some other discussions about it and some other people felt it wasn't the right decision.

Were there winners and losers in the shift of control?

There was an Associate Board of lay Trustees before this. Back in 1919-1922, Father James Burns was the President, and he wanted to make it a great university because we had a high school at that time and a grade school. He dropped the high school and eventually the grade school also but that cost a lot of money because you could have a lot more students in a high school class, and you needed only one person to teach maybe 30 people, and in a university you needed one person to teach maybe 12. So he started a major fundraising drive, and the General Education Board for the Rockefeller Foundation agreed to give us 250,000 dollars if we could collect 750,000 ourselves, and that was the first million dollar campaign in Notre Dame's history. And we did that, and we got the money under Father Burns. Either the Rockefeller Foundation or Burns himself felt that it shouldn't be entirely in the hands of a group of priests who take vows of poverty and don't know very much about money. So maybe we should have an advisory board how to invest this money, so you can invest it and use the interest off it.

So they set up then this Lay Board of Trustees or this Associate Board of Lay Trustees, they called it different things. It was chiefly to advise the President on how to invest our money, our endowment. Joe Kennedy, President John Kennedy's father, was one of those, Albert Erskine the head of Studebaker was one of those, and various other people.

Edward Hurley of Hurley Commerce Building, he was one, and various other important business people. Frank Walker who was postmaster general, was one. They were advising the university on investments and finances. Well, they still had that Associate Board of Lay Trustees throughout the 1950s and 1960s. So when we went into the full Board of Trustees almost all of these people were made full Board Trustees. I never looked at the Associate Board in 66 or 67, but I would imagine Ed Stephan and Tom Carney were on the earlier board, and were now just constituting the full board, and a few people added on beyond that. In that sense you could say it wasn't that radical a change in a way, you just gave all those people a lot more authority now. It was radical that they are the governing board of the University. It was no longer Holy Cross priests. And so, from the Holy Cross priests' point of view, it looks like a radical change; they were no longer running the place.

Was that a great sense of loss for the Holy Cross priests?

For some, yes. Because Notre Dame was very solvent and could make a profit, and we had foreign missionaries over in Bangladesh and Africa and Chile working the missions and not getting any salaries at all. So with our salaries and the money Notre Dame was making at times, it was going to help them. Now, in a sense, that might not be the case because it's two separate corporations. Before that time, we priests did not get full salaries and, with Father Hesburgh, as president, when the Provincial chapter decided we needed more money, Father Hesburgh could give it to us from the University, in a sense, giving us full salaries rather than just "contributed services" as they called it.

Notre Dame could do it, with tuition and stuff like this. So it was in many ways for the community a radical change. For the students, they probably didn't notice any difference. The faculty probably didn't notice much difference. The trustees themselves would notice a difference since they had the final responsibility. But it's a good question, how radical the change was and in the eyes of whom. In the eyes of the community it possibly was.

Okay. How did the decision render some people more powerful and other people less powerful?

Well, clearly, it rendered higher community officers like the Superior General or the Provincial Superior of the congregation of the Holy Cross less powerful in a way. I mean, the Provincial is an ex-officio member of the trustees, but it's only one vote now. Before that when the Holy Cross owned it and ran it, he could have, under the vow of obedience, ordered the President to do something. So the Board of Trustees, their authority, has been enhanced. The Board of Fellows certainly had a lot more power now. The President's power is probably about the same. There are a lot of other reasons why the President's power is less than it was 40 years ago -- the faculty have a lot more power now, students have more power now, democracy has moved into it. But they are separate corporations, and the finances have certainly changed. Now all the money to Notre Dame is just in Notre Dame, it's not to the province or anything. We all get salaries and things like this, so I would think the President's power is about the same with the Board, but it's less than it was 40 years ago because of faculty.

Was anyone made less powerful?

Just the people in the community: the Provincial Superior, the Superior General. They probably have less control because now it is a separate corporation.

Just one more question, and this is just kind of a summary question...you've already touched on some of these points. How did the transition advance Father Hesburgh's vision of a stronger, better University of Notre Dame?

It opened up the possibility of a lot more growth and further change and development than it had before. When this was owned entirely by the congregation of Holy Cross, if you wanted to build a library like the Memorial Library, and it was going to cost 14 million dollars, for example, the congregation might have been a little concerned. What if we hit a depression in the middle of it and you don't have 14 million dollars, Father Hesburgh, to pay for this? The community is going to be liable for this, and we don't have 14 million dollars in the bank. We could go bankrupt or something. But now with this separate corporation, the community is out from under that danger of being responsible for Notre Dame's debts or anything else. As long as the trustees are willing to go along, you can expand and grow much more, and that's what I think it did; it opened up the possibility of much more rapid, or serious growth and development in being a major university. To do that you go into debt a lot to renovate (the Main Building, cost about 50 million dollars to do). So I think it lets the university develop a lot more because the Holy Cross priests are a small community and you didn't want to undertake too many debts or too many liabilities like that.

Secondly, you are bringing in a lot of excellent ideas from the outside. When I was first on the Board of Trustees, back in 1970, shortly after this happened, Met Wilson who had been President of the University of Oregon and the President of the University of

Minnesota, was also on the board of trustees. George Shuster, who was from Hunter College, was on the Board of Trustees. Tom Carney was an excellent scientist. A lot of PhDs and others were on the board, so you could bring in different ideas from different places, and lawyers and others who can help you. Financial people like Richard Shinn, who was president of Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, Jay Rockefeller, etc., could advise on where was the best place to invest your money. So it opened up a lot more possibilities, a lot more new ideas coming in. Their expertise helped to fulfill these ideas, to bounce these ideas around. They were people Father Hesburgh really had confidence in. And the board he picked were a wide variety; you had lawyers and business people and educators, and so the discussions were great discussions and everyone had their own views. So in the Board, when Father Hesburgh had to make a decision, he was pretty confident he had heard views on all sides and once the Board came together and decided this was the way to go, you could be pretty confident this was going to be a success. You had some wonderful minds working at it.

That's great.

I think it opened up a lot of possibilities.

OK, there are eight questions. If you want to skip one and move to another one, please let me know. The first question is what competing ideologies/philosophies were present at the table when the shift in governance was being considered?

Well we had 7 other university presidents at one time or another on that board, and they were purposely brought in there because not only did we need the wisdom of the business people who had money, but we needed their advice.

The thing that precipitated Hesburgh's move in this direction, together with Ed Stephan, who was elected chairman of the Board and who wrote the instruction of the bylaws/statutes (we turned the whole thing over to the lay board, is basically what we did) because it was very very obvious to anyone who had contact with them that priests running the whole thing may have been meant to be wonderful in their advice but they knew very little about stocks and bonds, you know all kinds of philanthropy... It was at this time I went in to Notre Dame. I was there from the start of the whole development operation.

I can remember Hesburgh called me one day, in Florida, this must have been 64, 65,

Oh, so before the shift...

Before the shift...

And he said, "You've got to come back here." He explained the priest in the position of fundraising and philanthropy was overwhelmed by and not suited for the job. Years later, this priest explained he had become a priest because he wanted to devote his life to God, not asking people for money. I said I give people a chance to do something that's worthwhile, to really make a name for themselves. So I took over that job and was made the first lay officer of the Board.

Oh wow. Really? That's fascinating.

I was also given the job of being an officer of the board. I was responsible for its agenda, its meetings, its committees, its, you know, anything having to do with the Board of Trustees, and under its jurisdiction, along with everything else I had to do. And I used to say, I'm involved with eighteen activities, and I just don't think I can take it on. I've got to cut some of these things out.

Right. Did you feel very overwhelmed?

My only problem was I was beginning to have heart problems...

From the stress?

Yeah.

So when father Hesburgh approached you with his idea for a position for you did you want to take it or did you feel...?

Well, I said I was willing to take it, but I'm not a "yes man" and I'm tough, and he said that if I agree with everything he said then one of us is not needed. And I said OK. And in all the years we were there, and I was there before he got there, he and I had two disagreements, one I won, one he won. So he said to me that's a pretty good batting average.

Oh that's great. That's interesting.

Going back to the transition, this was precipitated by the Vatican 2 council where they petitioned that the schools think about this, and a lot of them still haven't changed but it was important that we did because we really started to get money rolling into the place.

But I like to call it, "I have my blood in the bricks" and I got that from an old professor who died several years ago, Frank O'Malley.

Anyway, what's next?

So when you mentioned Vatican 2, one of my questions relates to how did Father Hesburgh's view on the role of the laity and the purpose of higher education weigh into the decision?

Hesburgh moved into that position as president of the University with the sole ambition of creating a great Catholic university. There are none and yet the church was the foundation of most of the old beautiful institutions in Europe, and he just simply dedicated himself to doing it. We were very famous in the 30s for football. We did have some exciting things happen, though: father Julius Nieuwland was the one to develop synthetic rubber, and that was terribly important because in World War II, so that became the standard for tires. We also had one of the first atom smashers in the world and laboratories where we raised absolutely germ-free animals.

So there were great things going on, but it's just that the football overshadowed any other focus...

And we had no fundraising: we had 5 dollar alumni dues. Annually, 5 bucks.

I see.

One other sort of philosophical question I have, I'm not sure if you would know, I was curious to know if you might know how did father Hesburgh generally view the idea of change?

Well we had a student manual that was probably 50 pages. When he got finished examining it, we were down to 4. He just didn't want things like the kids being forced to go to mass every day, kicking a kid out for drinking a beer.

Back to fundraising, Hesburgh hated asking anyone for money. I would never put him before a person without having some absolute conviction that this guy is going to respond and is going to respond on the level that I had been talking to him about.

Theodore Martin Hesburgh has been in there longer (at the University) than anybody. And he's done so many things. Without any question Notre Dame became what it is because of Theodore Martin Hesburgh.

So he was the one who engineered the whole change in governance. Was he the most central person in the shift?

He was.

OK. I read about some people who thought it was a radical change from the way things were.

They did.

Did you think it was a radical change?

No.

Did he think it was a radical change?

No, it was just the next logical step.

OK.

In conformity with Vatican 2, even though he wanted to do this before, he knew we weren't going to go any place unless we got people on that board who were specialists in what they were doing.

I could just ask you a couple more questions, and then that would be it. Did you feel like there were winners and losers in the shift of control?

Some of the priests did. One, I recall, was very critical. You know that was the largest turnover of funds in the history of the Roman Catholic Church.

Did most people let go of that?

Yes, most of them that were really mad have died. It hurt some of our fundraising efforts.

And then the very last question: how did the transition advance Father Hesburgh's vision of a stronger, better University of Notre Dame?

I can give you an illustration. He had to go out to Portland, Oregon, for a very important meeting, and we had a room for him and we had a room for the press. And he got up and asked for questions, and this guy who was a sports writer said, "What kind of football team are you gonna have this year?" Ted swore never again would he face sportswriters on issues critical to the University. But that's what people were thinking of the University. Everyone at that conference was a sportswriter. It's not like that anymore.

Anyway, he's just a remarkable guy.

Interview 4

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Catholic hierarchy was celebrating its centennial in Baltimore, and one of the principal speakers was Archbishop Ireland, from Milwaukee. And the general theme that can be found was that the Church had to develop among its people an intellectual dimension. In other words, education was essential. I guess it must have been distinct from some other religions which did not do that. Then, for the first quarter of the century, the various Catholic colleges and universities were very interested in teaching known knowledge but not discovering known knowledge.

And two surveys were taken, one of them by two gentlemen at some Midwestern university. They surveyed and the scope of the survey must have included about a thousand people who were faculty at various colleges and universities. And the question was what were their religions. Of this thousand maybe 300 or 400 answered the survey. Of those who answered, at the very top were Congregationalists, at the very bottom were Catholics. Three of a thousand respondents were saying they were Catholic. This was followed by someone who Father Hesburgh knew, Father John O'Brien (we have a couple of chairs of theology named after him). So this Father John O'Brien was at the University of Illinois and he too did a survey. And out of several hundred people at some of these universities in the Midwest, he found that maybe 3 or 4 individuals were Catholic. Jews were at the bottom of the list too, at that time. Protestants were way at the top. In that first survey, you could detect, I think, a hang up of anti-Catholicism: that since Catholics were controlled by the clergy, they were not individualized.

Then people began to talk about it and there was ferment, and then in the 1950s, this ferment also extended to the Church itself, which ultimately led to the Second Vatican Council. There was a guy called John Tracey Ellis, and he was a Ph.D., I think a professor of history at Catholic University. And he was a very important contributor to this discourse. Father Hesburgh knows of him. And the big issue that was floating in university circles, not by the faculty, but by people like Father Hesburgh, was where are the Catholic intellectuals? Where are the Catholic Einsteins? The point being there were none. So this was in the air in the universities.

Meanwhile, (and Father Hesburgh will often say we are the Catholic Einsteins) this kind of coincided with when he began to be President, and at the same time there was a group called IFCU, International Federation of Catholic Universities, which kind of didn't do very much. But then the Pope at the time decided to give it new life with the introduction of the laity, etc. Father Hesburgh was the first leader to the group. Now there's a long battle that starts at this point for fifty years, and the battle was between universities and the Vatican. And so, I don't know if it was Pope Paul the VI, probably he was the Pope at the time... When it was founded, the group elected Father Hesburgh as the leader, and Rome said no, it had to be appointed by Rome. Finally, after that first battle, the Pope said no, Father Hesburgh should be the head of this. And so they had their meetings, and then they decided that, the thing to be discussed was what was going to be the meaning of a Catholic university in this climate? How could the Catholic

university be a university and not an instrument of the Church, of the hierarchy? And so they then (7 universities) under Father Hesburgh's leadership went to Land O'Lakes. Have you heard of it?

Yes, in Wisconsin.

And they met there. And the schools were Georgetown, Notre Dame, Saint Louis, Boston College, Fordham, and one other...

Yes.

Catholic University sent an observer. So they came out with this Land O'Lakes document and a main theme of this document was that a Catholic university had to be a university first. You can't be Catholic and then a university. The noun is university. That was the main theme. Now what was the different thing about a Catholic university, in addition to the adjective? Theology had to play an important role; it should learn form all the other disciplines. And there was to be no theological imperialism. And so the battle then began with Rome because what they did not put in there was who is boss. In other words, it was mainly saying what a Catholic university should do, what should be its aspirations, etc. Now, so there were various interactions between Father Hesburgh and Rome and this group, and he was the leader in saying what Catholic universities should be.

Now this then kind of coincided with the Second Vatican Council and the role of the laity. So these forces were all at play, and so then all these Catholic universities were then drawing up their own internal documents, how they were to be governed, what they would do, etc. And there were basically two molds: one was basically a two-tiered mold where you had a super in a group running the show, and the other was a single Board of Trustees, with a provision in there about the Catholic identity. What we developed in our document, and I'm telling you the way it was then, although it's evolved, was kind of two-tiered, but only kind of. We had a group of Fellows. Six of the Fellows were to be Holy Cross priests; six were to be lay people. For anything substantial, you had to have a 2/3 majority. That meant that neither group could play emperor. And then we had the Board of Trustees. Why I said kind of two-tiered is because of this: this was the board of Fellows-it was the Holy Cross priests who had owned the university, now the Fellows owned the University. But they could not behave in an arbitrary way. Before the priests could give away the university as they did, to this new entity, they had to get the approval of Rome. You've heard of this?

Yes.

They listened to him and they said, "Fine. You know you are going to have to buy a stamp for this purpose." It was a matter of a couple of dollars. This was a trivial thing. And they gave the stamp, and it gave the university away to this group, and some of them have regretted it ever since.

Did they not understand the significance of it at the time?

I don't know. So, the trustees run the university. The Fellows do not run it. They can't go to the Trustees and say, "Hey, we don't like that; please change it." And what has happened in the last couple of months is precisely the nature of the difficulty, because the bishop does not control the University.

Are you referring to the President coming here?

Yes, and all that preceded it. And if you go back in history to before this document, the old days...This is an example: Father John Courtney Murray wrote a book, and there was a conference here and he contributed to the conference and did a book to be published at Notre Dame, and when Rome got wind of it, they called Father Hesburgh and said, "You are not to publish this. You are not to tell anybody that we told you not to publish this, etc." His response? A reporter from the New York Times came to talk to him about it. He said, "What do you mean that I am suppressing this particular book? Go to the book store; you will see it on sale." So he was defying Rome. John Courtney Murray, who Rome feared because he was saying things about control, not about God, but who controls things...John Courtney Murray then became a leading voice in the Second Vatican Council. Then, so what did I mean by it's kind of two-tiered? What I meant was that they could not tell the Trustees what to do. They had a role in appointing the trustees, in a way the procedure for electing a trustee, it's by the trustees, but it first has to go through the Fellows. Also, another kind of thing that's important at Notre Dame was, "Did the president.." Do you know about this?

It has to be a Holy Cross priest?

Yes, a priest, a member of the order.

Many of these schools now did not have that provision, so it was the kind of thing that was discussed at the time. Trustees, at the moment, I don't know how many there are but there have been forty generally speaking, maybe fifty...It's supposed to be predominantly lay, which it is. There are a few priests on it; they have no dominant role. But the protective role of the Catholic identity is through the Fellows. That doesn't mean you don't hire this guy. It does mean that, by and large, they want to make sure the Catholic presence, the Catholic spirit of Notre Dame is preserved. Now, what else do I have to say? For example, I told you about John Courtney Murray. There have been several instances where there was no freedom of expression. There was a famous case, a nun in southern Indiana, where she was fired because she was in favor of women priests. I think it was Flannery O'Connor who published an article in, I think it was "America", in which one of the references was changed by the editor, changing the meaning entirely. And when she objected, the editor said the Church is concerned with a person's soul, the university should be concerned with teaching. And therefore this is what you should have said; it would never happen today. But, you see, this is part of what is the concern at the moment; you see this thing coming through the woodwork.

I remember in 1992, when I was Provost, both Father Lewers and Father O'Connell, when they heard we were giving the in Laetare medal to Moynihan, said we should not. The New York Times woke me up on May the seventh, 1992, to interview me about this issue, and I said, "Look, what's all this fuss about? We are not about to canonize, we are only asking him to come here to get an award." But it's exactly what happened yesterday. So, these are the kinds of things Father Hesburgh realized in the past were quite inappropriate to a university. And the best thing to do is not to make a speech but to do what you have to do, as Father Jenkins did. That is the best object lesson. But there is a problem in the Church because the way in which some Catholics and bishops do, is exactly what happened in the case of Galileo. There was profound truth about the way in which the world was made. They tried to silence him, he was under house arrest, and it took several hundred years before the Church said "We were wrong." So there is something that still has to be addressed in the Church's thinking. Now your questions.

Alright. My first question is what competing ideologies or philosophies were present at the table when the change in governance was being considered?

I'm going to say something about philosophy: I don't think that would have been a meaningful question at the time, although what you're after would have been meaningful because the world is so broken into ideologies now that there are such questions. Now I don't know if you want to call these ideologies, but the forces at play were, on the one hand, what I described about what was occurring in the first half of the century.

Yes.

That you have a segment of society called Catholic. Catholic came from an old tradition of intellectuality with St. Augustine. These were immigrants, the Catholics. There were anti-intellectual attitudes among them. If you ever heard the word "egg head," that was from the fifties. That's what many Catholics were called. They called the university types "egg heads." So you have the force of religion with an anti-Catholic sentiment in this country, and another force of the life of the mind. This was one of the driving forces of Father Hesburgh: How do we remain Catholic and do whatever you have to do to discover the truth in a university? So the forces were the role, the force of religion, and then the crossroads between religion and intellectual life. How do you put these things together without sacrificing one for the other? And well that was it. So, the forces playing here, in Catholicism itself you had the Catholic people who felt like they were second rate. Now remember it was John Kennedy's election that contributed to a big step forward at about the time we are talking. And then there was the traditional dominance of the Catholic hierarchy. Those, I think, were the central themes. Now, if you will notice, some of the things I was talking about were present in the past couple months. I would say that's central. Another force is this: to what extent should the Catholic Church play a role in a society which is at odds with the teachings of the Church? Should it be active in the society, try to shape the society, try to learn from the society? Or should we box ourselves in like the Amish do? A Catholic cannot be a contributor to the leadership of

the country for fear there might be something to do with abortion. So those are the forces, I'd say, that were at work.

OK, great. How do you believe that Father's Hesburgh's views on the role of the laity and the purpose of higher education weighed into the decision?

He thought, from his early days as a priest, in fact it might have been the subject of his dissertation...

Yes.

That the strength of the Church of the future resided in the laity. He always felt that, it is reflected in the fact that without him we would not have had a lay Board of Trustees. They had trustees before who were lackeys to the Church, to the order. But the Church was really to be the laity also, not to do things and then go and hand them to the hierarchy. The laity, in its own right, it was strong enough from the very beginning, without sacrificing certain roles asserted by priests.

OK. How did Father Hesburgh generally view the idea of change?

Father Hesburgh is, on the one hand, very loyal to people and to ideas. For example, I don't know the forces he thought were at play with the laity, but there he probably just figured it out on his own. Now, on the other hand, when he's persuaded that change is needed, even though his first reaction may be "No way!", then after he thinks about it, and he samples around, although you don't know he's doing it, you know what I mean?

(Laughter)...

When he takes it on, he can make dramatic change. Case in point: lay Board of Trustees, case in point: admitting women to Notre Dame. I'm quite sure his mind had to go through a lot of analysis when doing that. And he also listens to the forces at play and analyzes them. And when he comes to a conclusion, he doggedly sticks to it.

That's really interesting. Alright. Was Father Hesburgh the most central person in shifting the University toward lay control or were there other dominant figures who moved the University in that direction?

You are now asking about people, not the forces of the Church.

Yes, I am asking about people.

If you restrict yourself to the University of Notre Dame, he was the dominant figure. But he had close relationships with the first chairman of the Board, Ed Stephan, and also with the Provincial at the time, Father Kenna, and with Father Joyce. But let us say no others come to mind who were supporters. And there were people opposed to it in the order, and in the faculty: people afraid of change and how they would be affected by the

change. But let us say this: if Father Hesburgh had not been around, we would not have changed, or perhaps we would have been followers in the change. If you see these other universities, you think, "Hey, should we do something?" So, as a matter of fact, if he had not been around, the changes that occurred at other Catholic universities would not have been the same, so his force had a ripple effect. By the way, going back to the question of change, the fact that he held hands with a Protestant minister, namely, Martin Luther King, at one of the protests in Chicago, was a Catholic thing to do in terms of substance, but in terms of Catholic leaders it was unusual.

Really? That's interesting.

So, now where were we?

Well you answered the question on whether he was the most central person. Now this next question is, "Did Father Hesburgh see this as a radical change or more like the next logical step in adjusting to the climate of Catholic higher education at the time?"

It clearly was radical, but there was no other choice.

OK. I'm wondering if there were winners and losers in the shift of control? Did the shift render some more powerful and others less powerful?

Forgetting about the Catholic piece, wrapped up in that idea, though, was that we should become a prominent university. Undoubtedly one of the winners, if you want to use that term, were the laity. I suppose there were some people in the congregation who felt it was the wrong move, as there was a time when the members said come and you cometh, go and you goeth. With the introduction of the lay control, the idea to consult them before making a decision was a new concept, not even the President could go to them and say, "Hire this guy." Although Father did do that every once in a while, he would not have gotten away with it for a long time, and it would have been a mistake. How can you say, "I want that physicist" if you don't know any physics? So, I don't think it was something that was a big issue, but it was an issue, you see.

Yes, I had a sense in hearing from others about the sense of loss of the Holy Cross priests...

Not all of them.

Right, some of them.

For example, when I was made Provost, I was the first person to be Provost who was not a Holy Cross priest. Before me was Father Burtchaell. Before that was a long line of academic vice-presidents. Generally speaking, in the history of the order, that was a dramatic change. And also so far as that represented a sign of things to come, it related in large measure to the fact that they had a very steep decline in vocations. You would have had to have also available Holy Cross priests who were well recognized in their

discipline, where a person who decides to become a priest does not decide to become a priest because of this opportunity to be a vice president, but for other reasons, so that their minds are split. So that's why you hear so many of these people that say the decline at Our Lady's University began with Father Hesburgh.

I just have one final question. How did the transition advance Father Hesburgh's vision of a stronger, better University of Notre Dame?

My question is which came first. I think that was the reason he did it, because it was his vision for the future.